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DHARWAR, INDIA

VOLUME II

SHL
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ALFRED LOUIS KROEBER
1876—1960

Editorial

IT is gratifying to note that our Journal has attracted attention in different quarters of sociological thinking. We are happy, especially, if our comparative approach is welcomed in the sphere of developing scientific knowledge and for deepening a proper understanding of different cultures. It is in this connection that we would like to lay further emphasis on the application of sociological knowledge, acquired through the comparative and inter-disciplinary approach, for developing, especially, the technologically less advanced countries.

The American Sociological Association held a "Herbert Spencer's Centenary Meeting" last year, and it is important to note that in our times there is a departure from his method of studying societies and his ideas on utilizing scientific knowledge. However, Spencer's preoccupation with social evolution is no longer suspect today, thanks to neo-evolutionists like Gordon Childe, Julian Steward and Leslie White, and to be up-todate, to Walter Goldschmidt. The pendulum of sociological fashion has swung back. Radcliffe-Brown himself could not fail to commend Spencer's ideas, even while amending them.

While paying reverence to Spencer, one cannot help pointing out his strong isolation from the French pioneer sociologists and proto-sociologists like Saint Simon, Comte, Le Play and even Durkheim. While the latter were deeply involved in the contemporary socio-political situation and hoped to better the society through sociological understanding, Herbert Spencer was sceptical about conscious social reform.

However, since the turn of the century, if not earlier, concern with social and cultural change became more and more manifest, and empirical knowledge came to be used more consciously as an instrument to serve given ends. Applied social sciences, especially, applied Sociology and Social Anthropology, gradually came of age to aid the administrator, missionary, trader, industrialist, and not the least, the politician. In fact, one should not underestimate the impression that Social Anthropology itself owes its maturity largely to these ventures in purposively restricted study focussed on the present. Since the middle of this century one can feel the wind of applied sociological sciences blowing full blast. At present, social welfare, social work and applied anthropology are in their heyday, not only in advanced countries, but also, – thanks to their economic aid and their social scientists, in the developing ones as well.

It is interesting to observe that the backwardness of a country is being gauged not always in terms of the length of rails laid or the number of oilwells sunk, but also in terms of the variety of social security offered or the number of social welfare agencies run. Though Professor Edward Shils complains of the yawning "gap" in most sectors of social, cultural and ideational life, between expectations and achievements, nothing else is perhaps more deplorable than the gap between quality and quantity. But, one is apt to forget easily that in a country of starving millions in Asia or Africa, a surfeit of "unbalanced" diet has its own inescapable logic and insistent primacy.

Therefore, one should happily note the increasing awareness of social problems and possibilities of solving them in different parts of India and other Asian countries. Schools as well as public or private welfare agencies are increasingly trying to meet the growing needs for welfare personnel. Universities in India could profitably add to the opportunities available for training workers to acquire adequate knowledge, experience and skill in Social Welfare. It is in this context that we welcome the efforts of two universities in the South of India, Karnatak and Kerala, in establishing departments of Social Welfare.

K. Ishwaran
Editor

A Study of French Canadian Kinship[1]

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1. Introduction

ANTHROPOLOGISTS and comparative sociologists have often been struck by the differences which exist between systems of kinship in "modern" or "civilized" societies and those found in societies which we call "primitive". The most striking contrast concerns the position of the individual family which in modern societies has often been taken to be the only significant socio-economic grouping based on kinship, whereas in primitive societies it is usually integrated with wider groupings of kinsfolk such as lineage, clan, or extended family. And in regard to modern societies a contrast has often been drawn between kinship in rural and in urban communities. It has been widely held that the modern phenomena of urbanization, migration and industrialization must necessarily weaken or destroy bonds of kinship beyond those existing within the individual family.

Firth (1956) and his collaborators were the first to demonstrate that extended kinship bonds can be extremely important even in such a highly urbanized society as London, and their work has opened up wide opportunities for investigations in which the techniques of social anthropology (which is so largely concerned with kinship) can be of use to the sociologist in the study of modern societies.

One most promising field for such investigations is French Canada, where historic events have set the stage for the testing of many hypotheses concerning the role of kinship in modern societies.

The region of the St. Lawrence River was first exploited by France during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the primary basis of this exploitation being the fur trade. In 1606 Samuel de Champlain founded the city of Quebec, and agricultural settlements, largely self-sufficient, began to grow along both banks of the lower St. Lawrence, though the fur trade continued to flourish and spread westward as the fur-bearing animals were progressively exterminated. The *habitants* of the St. Lawrence agricultural settlements lived in small parishes in which the parish priest played an important part as religious and secular leader – the whole of New France was solidly Catholic, as are the communities of French Canadians to-day.

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[1] I wish to express my thanks to the Carnegie Corporation of New York for providing a travel grant which made possible the research described here; to Mr. A. B. Hooper for most valuable help in analysing the results; and to my colleagues Mr. Ralph Bulmer and Dr. Murray Groves for reading and commenting on the manuscript.

This was the situation which the English met after Wolfe captured Quebec in 1759. The subsequent social and political conflicts between the two major ethnic groups in Canada (Wade 1950; Lower 1946) are beyond the scope of this paper, but the memories of them are relevant to French Canadian attitudes to-day. These are marked by a consciousness that they were the first Europeans in Canada; that they were conquered by the English and subsequently betrayed by France by the cession of Canada in 1763; that they must protect their language and their Catholicism against the predominantly Protestant English majority; and that their way of life, especially in regard to kinship, is superior to that of the English.

The settlements of the St. Lawrence *habitants* remained very much as they were until the middle of the nineteenth century, when the growing pressure of population on a limited area of fertile land produced extensive migration to industrial towns in New England and in Quebec itself (Faucher and Lamontagne (1953). After 1870, with the opening up of Western Canada, a new trend in migration developed: French Canadians from both Quebec and New England established communities in Manitoba (Howard 1952; Morton 1957) one of which forms the subject of the study reported here.

Kinship had, and still has, certain important organising functions among the rural communities of Quebec (Gérin 1898 and 1937; Miner 1939; Rioux 1954). When sociologists became aware of the trends of migration, urbanization and industrialization mentioned above, they tended to assume that either these trends would produce atrophy of French Canadian cultural elements (including kinship) or that adherence to these "archaic" elements would militate against the successful adjustment of French Canadians to modern conditions. In this they were supported by leading French Canadian churchmen who had always held up the simple, closely knit, village community, in which material advantage was regarded as secondary to spiritual values, as the ideal of French Canadian life. They feared that departure from this ideal would mean the collapse of French Canadian values, including those connected with kinship.

Such predictions have not been confirmed by Garigue's studies of kinship in the city of Montreal and in the mining town of Schefferville (1958: 63–76; 88–102) where French Canadian kinship usages, far from becoming atrophied, have assumed new functions which have helped the communities concerned in the social and economic adjustments which they have been forced to make. It is therefore interesting further to test the hypothesis of the correlation of "progress" with degeneration of kinship in a comparatively new Canadian community of a different type. This I attempted to do during a period of ten weeks' field work during the summer of 1957 in the township of St. Jean-Baptiste, Manitoba. This community differs in several significant respects from the traditional *habitant* parishes of the St. Lawrence: Economically, it is far removed from subsistence agriculture and forms part of the largely wheat-based economy of the prairies; its people have not lived there for many generations, most of their ancestors having migrated to Manitoba since 1870; they were of heterogeneous provenance, coming from various parts of Quebec and also from French Canadian communities in the industrial towns of New England; since they have frequent contacts, economic and social, with Winnipeg, they cannot be described as "isolated"; and all the people, except some of the more elderly, are perfectly bilingual.

The parish of St. Jean-Baptiste is a prairie farming community with a population of approximately fifteen hundred, of whom about one third live in the township. It is situated on the Red River, 46 miles south of Winnipeg and 20 miles north of the U.S.A. border. The population is almost exclusively French Canadian, though there is one English Canadian family in the township and several descendants of the original *métis*[1] settlers who first set up farms along the banks of the Red River about the middle of the nineteenth century (Howard 1952). Community life centres largely around the Roman Catholic Church and its associated social centre which is used as a curling and skating rink in winter and for wedding receptions, entertainments and other social functions. The community is solidly Roman Catholic and there is a Central School staffed mainly by nuns.

As a basis for a study of kinship I collected a number of genealogies from people in St. Jean-Baptiste. Unfortunately my informants did not represent a balanced sample of the population of the community, belonging as they did predominantly to the higher social stratum and to the older age groups, ranging from 45 to 75. I made several attempts to obtain genealogies from younger members of the community, but my visit coincided with the busy harvest season. Some told me frankly that they were too busy to co-operate or too tired after long hours of work; others referred me to their older relatives in such terms as: "He knows far more about the family than I do."

As will appear, all my informants turned out to be related to each other, though they were not selected on the basis of kinship. This means that what I in fact collected was one enormous genealogy which could perhaps be written out on a cinema screen. So for the sake of convenience I have selected ten informants as Egos to act as nuclei for ten genealogies, particulars of which are given in Table 2.

---

[1] This is a French term, derived originally from Spanish. In Canada it is used to describe individuals of mixed Indian and European descent. It usually refers to Indian-French Canadian mixed bloods, but one may also speak of a "Scots *métis*" or an "English *métis*".

Table 1

Particulars of Genealogies

Reference number of Ego and genealogy	*Sex of Ego*	*Language used*	*Collected from*
I	F	English	Ego
II	M	English	Ego
III	M	English	Husband and wife jointly
IV (wife of III)	F	English	
V	M	English	Husband and wife jointly
VI (wife of V)	F	English	
VII	M	French	Ego, wife and f.b.d. who is wife of VIII
VIII	M	French	Ego and wife
IX	M	French	Ego and half-brother
X	F	French	Ego and mother's sister

The present work does not pretend to be a full study of kinship, which would involve a description of kinship relationships in action. For example the shortness of the time available and the fact that I was a newcomer to the community made it impossible for me to collect systematic data on the economic aspect of kinship, in particular on the tendency to secure economic advantages for kinsfolk. This is an extremely important phenomenon, because in Quebec it is one of the sources of tension between English and French. The English call it "nepotism" and the French call it "family solidarity" (Garigue, 1958, 72). Actually both are right, given a relativist approach to conflicting cultural values.

2. The Range of Kinship Awareness

It was originally hoped that the material on kinship collected at St. Jean-Baptiste could be compared quantitatively with certain conclusions of Garigue's study of this subject in Montreal. Garigue analysed thirty genealogies to discover the range of the genealogical knowledge of the informants. "The mean of such knowledge is a range of 215 persons. The smallest range was 75; the ten with least knowledge ranged from this to 120. The next ten ranged from 126 to 243; the highest ten from 252 to a maximum of 484 known kin." (1958: 64). These and other facts reported by Garigue establish his contention that urbanization does not destroy the complex web of kinship which characterises French Canadian society. It would have been interesting to compare his figures with material from another "modern", though rural, community.

Unfortunately it soon became apparent that this would be impossible for several reasons. One is the unbalanced character of the sample, previously mentioned, so far as age groupings are concerned, whereas Garigue's informants ranged from 19 to 72 with an average age of 30½. Again, Garigue collected genealogies from informants with a view to assessing their *individual* knowledge of their kin. In St. Jean-Baptiste it proved impossible to do this. One obstacle arose from the conditions under which several genealogies were collected from two or three informants jointly. In the case of husbands and wives, I was invited into their homes and started asking questions of one of them. The other would prompt from time to time, while one or other would occasionally leave the house on some errand or other. After this had gone on over a series of interviews it was impossible to say how much each of them knew about the range of kinsfolk who were common to both. Again, since all informants were related to each other, they sometimes referred me back, for information on certain branches of their families, to genealogies which they knew I had already collected from their kinsfolk. Several informants, with courteous thoroughness, insisted on resorting to mnemonic aids. One put through, during a single interview, six telephone calls to relatives in order to obtain answers to my questions. Others referred to address books or telephone directories. And I was once handed an obituary notice which gave details of the immediate kin of a deceased kinsman. In such circumstances it was obviously impossible to assess the amount of knowledge possessed by any given individual at the outset. It may be noted that the investigators in the South Borough project in London encountered similar difficulties, but finally reached the conclusion that it was preferable to record kinship awareness in terms of the collective knowledge of households rather than that of individuals (Firth, 1956: 27–28).

Taking the above considerations into account, it would have been both ungracious and tactless to attempt to insist on working conditions which would have made the data comparable with Garigue's. Nevertheless it is of interest to record the range of kinship knowledge revealed in the genealogies, provided that it is clearly recognised that these cannot be regarded as accurately rerpresentative of the range of knowledge possessed by individuals in St. Jean-Baptiste. The richer genealogies show a range which is probably greater than that possessed by younger members of the community. Those which show the lowest ranges are attenuated, for various reasons. Genealogy I is incomplete because the informant left St. Jean-Baptiste before I could finish its compilation – it contains no information on the informant's knowledge of her affinal relatives through her husband. Genealogy VIII is a case in connection with which it was pointed out to me that I had already gathered certain information about Ego's family from Ego VI, his f.b.d. The four genealogies collected from two married couples (III and IV, V and VI) reveal that the two couples were able to give the names of 542 and 580 kinsfolk respectively. But it would be quite wrong to assume that each member of the couple possessed the range of knowledge indicated by these figures. They constantly referred to each other for information, and the women were much better informed about their kinsfolk than the men (cf. Garigue 1958: 66; Firth 1956: 40). This was in general true of my other informants, though one of the fullest genealogies (II) was obtained from a man.

In spite of the fact that the genealogies from St. Jean-Baptiste cannot be compared quantitatively with Garigue's, one conclusion emerges with striking clarity from the material: the very wide range of kinship awareness among French Canadians, compared with that of most English-speaking societies. For example, twelve genealogies collected in South Borough show a mean of 102 named kin (Firth 1956: 42). The corresponding figure for St. Jean-Baptiste is 256. But if the genealogies of husbands and their wives are lumped together to form household genealogies, of the kind collected in London, the figure rises to 320.

The discrepancy between the French Canadian data and those from London is partly due to the large size of French Canadian families.[1] Generally speaking, the larger the size of families the greater the number of priority kin, both consanguineous and affinal, and the more numerous the chances of acquiring chosen kin (Section 5). But this fact is not sufficient to explain the very wide lateral spread of French Canadian genealogies.

The criteria used here in categorising the kinsfolk recorded in the genealogies differ somewhat from those of Firth and of Garigue. Kinsfolk are divided into *named kin* and *unnamed kin*. The former are those for whom either the Christian name or the surname (or both) are known, except where the surname could be inferred from a previously recorded marriage. For example, if an informant said "Edouard Duval married a Cartier and they have ten children, though I do not know their names", this information is recorded as two named kin and ten unnamed kin, though the informant would know by inference that all of the children would have the surname of "Duval". Again, when neither a wife's Christian name nor her maiden name were known she is recorded as an unnamed kinswoman, even though her married name might be known.

[1] The large size of French Canadian families is well known. The Church is strong in its insistence that people should have as many children as possible, as both a religious and a patriotic duty for members of a minority group whose cultural survival and status in the Dominion depend largely on their numerical strength. That French Canadians should have large families is accepted both as an ideal and an accomplished fact – *la revanche du berceau*, "the revenge of the cradle" against the English who conquered them and subsequently sought on many occasions and in many ways to deprive them of their ethnic rights and identity. A total of 529 families are recorded in the genealogies from St. Jean-Baptiste. Of these, 57 have ten or more children, the highest number being 20. The median number of children is 4, but this undoubtedly underestimates very greatly the true figure – firstly because informants often admitted that they were unable to give the total number of children in certain families and secondly because a large number of the families are those of young married couples who will certainly have more children in the future.

It will be seen that our category of named kin corresponds to Firth's "nominated kin". However his "recognised kin" consist of both our named and unnamed kin, with the proviso that the sex, as well as the existence, of unnamed kin must be known.

The total numbers of kinsfolk recorded in the St. Jean-Baptiste genealogies are given in Table 2.

Table 2

Genealogy	*Named Kin*	*Unnamed Kin*
I	130	56
II	363	234
III	285	134
IV	257	185
V	352	81
VI	228	9
VII	397	149
VIII	123	213
IX	233	210
X	191	33
Total	2559	1304

It is interesting to record how the kinsfolk involved are distributed over the generations of the past century or so. In line with the findings of Garigue, interest in kinsfolk tends to be concentrated on the contemporary and near-contemporary generations. In Montreal, Garigue found that between 50% and 66% of known kin (recognised kin, in Firth's sense) belong to the generations of Ego and his parents (1958: 64). In St. Jean-Baptiste the corresponding figure is 62% for named kin and 25% for unnamed kin. The French Canadians of St. Jean-Baptiste – and this is probably true of Western Canada in general – have largely severed their ties with the Quebec of the past. They often tell of the doings of their pioneering forbears who came from Quebec; they rarely refer to ancestors of earlier generations. Several of them have visited Quebec and have met relatives there, just as they have done in other parts of Western Canada and in the U.S.A. But in the French Canadian settlements on Red River we find a sub-culture of French Canadian culture, not a colony of Quebec. There is even a suggestion of a certain mild antipathy towards Quebec, where people are said to be "less friendly than here".

3. Intermarriages of Kin

A characteristic feature of French Canadian kinship is the large number of intermarriages between kinsfolk (Miner, 1939: 70–72; Garigue 1958: 65–66). This is perhaps more marked in St. Jean-Baptiste and adjoining Red River parishes because of the initial settlement of this region by a limited number of migrant families who took up adjoining tracts of land. Large families and frequent social contacts within and between the parishes made possible the development of a complex network of inter-relationships based on marriages. How far this development was stimulated by preferential marriages based on economic considerations, or obstructed by objections to in-breeding (Miner 1939: 70–72), it is impossible to say. But the prevalence of intermarriage between kin may be judged from the data given below, which certainly underestimate the total number of intermarriages among individuals recorded in the genealogies. In some instances of married couples either the surname or the Christian name of one of them was unknown to informants. In several such cases the couple were probably related, but in the absence of precise identification I am unable to assert this with confidence.

The most common, and the most easily defined, types of intermarriages of kin are tabulated below. Its should be made clear that the figures given refer to the number of *unions* and not to the frequency of *types* of marriage. Thus when two brothers exchange sisters, this is recorded as two marriages.

Type of Marriage	Number of Marriages
Sister exchange	14
Brothers marrying sisters (including one case of three brothers marrying three sisters)	71
Two brothers and a sister marrying two sisters and a brother	3
Cross cousin marriage	2
Parallel cousin marriage	4
Marriages between more distant cousins	3
Two siblings marrying individuals who were parallel cousins to each other	16
Two brothers marrying individuals who were cross cousins to each other	2
Parallel cousins marrying individuals who were parallel cousins to each other	4

In addition to the above, a variety of types of marriage of men with more distant kinswomen were recorded. Figure 1 illustrates one such type. Here it will be seen that each of the three men, A, B and C, is married to a woman who is related to him in two distinct ways, namely:

A: f.b.d.h.f.f.so.d.
sis.h.f.f.so.d.
B: f.f.so.d.h.sis.
b.w.f.b.d.
C. b.w.f.b.d.
f.f.so.d.h.f.b.d.

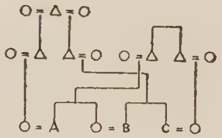

FIGURE 1

The prevalence of inter-marriages between kin means that for each genealogy it is possible to compile a chart showing the intermarriages among Ego's kinsfolk. Figure 2 shows, for Genealogy II, the kinship relations of 90 individuals. Comparable charts for other genealogies are of the same general type. The numbers of individuals shown on similar charts for the ten genealogies are as follows:

Genealogy I:	35	Genealogy VI:	23
Genealogy II:	90	Genealogy VII:	48
Genealogy III:	37	Genealogy VIII:	26
Genealogy IV:	45	Genealogy IX:	57
Genealogy V:	69	Genealogy X:	24

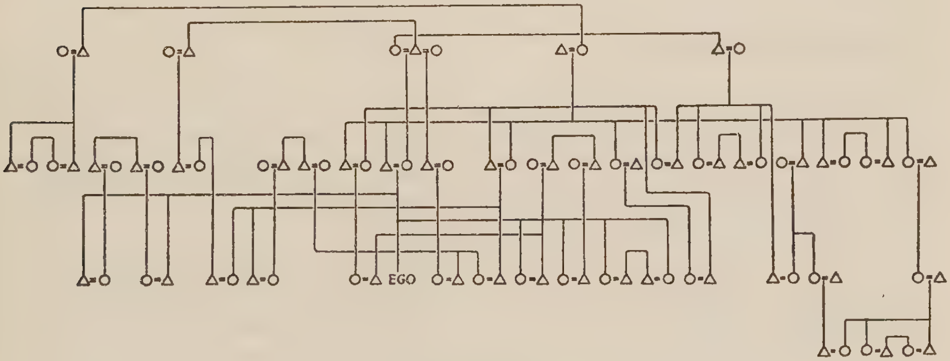

FIGURE 2

It should be noted that whereas Genealogy II was an individual one, others, showing a smaller number of intermarried kin, were collected from more than one informant. Thus Genealogies V and VI give a total of 92 intermarried kin for the husband and wife jointly.

One consequence of this network of intermarriages is that it is possible to find in each genealogy the names of individuals who are related to all other informants in various ways. As stated in Section I, informants were not selected on a basis of kinship, but they all turned out to be related to one another in at least two ways. The charts and tables demonstrating this are too complex to reproduce here. But they are vividly reminiscent of the informant in the small St. Lawrence community of l'Île Verte who, in pointing out another man to

Marcel Rioux, said: "He is my brother-in-law because his second wife is my wife's sister; he is also my uncle, because his first wife was my mother's sister; and he is also my cousin, like everybody else." (Translated from Rioux, 1954: 36).

The material presented above from a limited range of genealogies suggests, though it does not prove, that everybody in St. Jean-Baptiste, apart from a few recent arrivals, is related to everybody else in a complex network of kinship relationships. The more distant of these relationships do not necessarily involve personal associations, apart from those arising from accident or individual preference. But their existence does tend to produce a sense of unity in the community – almost a sense of belonging to one big family. This principle was explicitly stated in the words of a memorandum prepared by the Trustees of the Central School at St. Pierre, a parish not far from St. Jean-Baptiste, to which they would also apply: "It is not surprising that this village and its neighbourhood provide a remarkable example of community life – a community life in which the family spirit is the fruit of colonization by groups and of marriage between members of these groups. It is a community life in which the close co-operation of Church and home infuses into all activities a single spirit and a common vigour." (Translated from *La Liberté et Le Patriote*, 18th October, 1957, p. 3).

4. Migration of Kinsfolk

The genealogies include records of kinsfolk who have migrated from one place to another. Some of this information was volunteered by informants. Some of it was obtained by direct questioning after the basic data on kinship relations had been recorded, but it was impossible to do this systematically for all the individuals named in the genealogies.

The data provide a paradigm of the migrations of sections of the French Canadian population over the past eight decades or so, though they must not be regarded as giving more than a rough quantitative indication of migration trends. This reservation is necessary because the data were all collected in St. Jean-Baptiste from a limited number of informants who were all related to each other. The direction of migration of individual French Canadians is largely determined by kinship; a man will tend to migrate to a place to which his brothers or other relatives have already migrated, a tendency which is reflected in the material from St. Jean-Baptiste.

The unit of migration is taken as either an unmarried adult individual or a married couple, with or without children. Thus if a married couple migrate with their ten children, this is counted as one migration. It would obviously distort the real pattern to count it as twelve migrations. When, as happened in a few cases, an individual migrated two or even three times during his lifetime, each migration was counted separately.

The data for 310 migrations are presented in Table 3. In addition there were 54 migrations from one Red River settlement to another, 2 to South America, 4 from the Red River to various states of the U.S.A. (Oregon 1, Florida 2, Colorado 1) and 5 from the Red River to unknown destinations in the U.S.A.

Table 3

Migrations of Kinsfolk

	Migrations to							
Migrations from	*New England & Quebec*	*Montreal and Ontario*	*Red River Sett.*	*W'peg and St. B.*	*Canada w. of W'peg*	*Central states*	*Calif.*	*Total Emigrations*
New Engl. and Quebec	–	0	36	2	6	0	1	45
Montreal and Ontario	0	–	5	0	3	0	0	8
Red River Settlements	2	34	–	71	78	9	25	219
Winnipeg and St. Boniface	1	8	3	–	3	3	4	22
Canada west of Winnipeg	0	2	1	2	–	1	2	8
Central States	0	0	1	4	0	–	1	6
California	0	0	0	0	1	1	–	2
Total Immigrations	3	44	46	79	91	14	33	310

It is interesting to consider in detail the migrations to and from Red River settlements in terms of the generations recorded in the genealogies. These migrations reflect the movements of a population which came originally almost entirely from New England and Quebec to Manitoba during the years immediately following the opening up to settlement of the Red River region in the mid-seventies of the nineteenth century. All the land became occupied, the mechanization of agriculture meant that a much smaller labour force could be employed in cultivating it, and the rapid increase of population, resulting from the size of French Canadian families, made emigration inevitable for a number of younger people.

It is important to note the direction of this process. A substantial proportion of migrations were to Canada west of Winnipeg, about one third of them to centres of French Canadian population in Western Manitoba. Others were mainly to centres in other western provinces where there are substantial numbers of French Canadians.

The high incidence of migration to Winnipeg and St. Boniface can be explained by geographical proximity and economic openings in these urban centres. St. Boniface lies on the other side of the Red River from Winnipeg, only a few minutes walk from its commercial centre. But whereas the population of Winnipeg is predominantly English, St. Boniface is a French Canadian town with its own radio station, a cathedral, a college, a French Canadian archbishop, and a weekly paper *La Liberté et Le Patriote*. There is much mutual visiting between French Canadians in both centres and their kinsfolk in the Red River settlements to the south. The significance of this is that Winnipeg and St. Boniface have been able to absorb a substantial proportion of the surplus rural population without doing much damage to the social structure or divorcing too many migrants from French Canadian institutions.

The U.S.A. receives comparatively few migrants. In view of the complete freedom of travel between the two countries, this must reflect personal preference. There is among French Canadians, particularly in Quebec, a fairly strong feeling against the "materialism" of the United States. I have the impression that the feeling is not so strong in St. Jean-Baptiste, probably owing to geographical proximity, more frequent personal contacts along the Winnipeg-St. Paul railway and highway, and certain common Red River traditions going back to the days of buffalo hunting and early conflicts with the Indians (Howard 1952, Parts I-III).

We have discerned certain trends in the migrations centering historically around the Red River. But it is important to note that there have also been countertrends, small numbers of atypical migrations in various directions in the U.S.A. and Canada and also between the two countries. It would appear, however, that these tend to take place between a limited number of places, presumably in most instances places where French Canadians are already located. These atypical migrations cannot be explained, as the major trends can largely be explained, in terms of regional economic pressure. Undoubtedly personal circumstances do lead individuals to migrate in order to "better themselves". But there appears to be also a positive liking for geographical mobility among many French Canadians, a value orientation very different from what we would expect to find in a "folk culture" (cf. Section 6).

5. Some Characteristics of Kinship in St. Jean-Baptiste

Raymond Firth has drawn attention to certain significant contrasts between the kinship systems of primitive peoples, with which anthropologists are familiar, and those of modern Western societies as exemplified in South Borough (1956: 13–14). We may consider the system of St. Jean-Baptiste in relation to these contrasts, and also to other features which give it a distinctive character. For this purpose a useful classification of kin, based on concepts developed by Firth and Garigue, is as follows:

A. *Effective kin:* Those with whom significant contacts are maintained, consisting of:
  i) *Priority kin:* Members of the individual family and kinsfolk closely related to it, particularly parents of the spouses. Here there is a greater or lesser degree of recognised moral obligation to enter into appropriate social relationships. In the case of the husband-wife and parents-children relationships, some of the obligations are supported by legal sanctions.
  ii) *Chosen kin:* More remote kin with whom there is no moral obligation to enter into social relationships. However such relationships are in fact initiated and maintained on a basis of individual or family choice.

B. *Non-effective kin:* Those kin who are known to be genealogically related to the individual, but with whom he maintains no social relationships.

The first contrast between primitive and modern Western societies is that among the former there is usually a much wider range of priority kin and a larger number of prescribed social relationships between them. In Western societies the priority kin are fewer, being in some particular cases restricted to the individual family. For more remote kinsfolk the establishment of social relationships is permissive, not obligatory. But this does not mean that such relationships are unimportant. For example in primitive society it is often obligatory for a man to marry a kinswoman, aboriginal Australia providing the most striking example. There is no such obligation in Western society, though Section 3 suggests that there is in St. Jean-Baptiste a significant tendency towards intermarriage between kinsfolk.

Here, as elsewhere, the regularities of kinship behaviour in modern society are statistical rather than normative – kinship relationships provide bases on which other social relations may be and often are established, but they do not make mandatory their establishment. Yet regularities arising within such permissive systems may be significant for comparative purposes. Thus in the South Borough study, intermarriages between kin do not seem to have been frequent enough to merit discussion by the investigators, and none appear in the specimen genealogy given by them (Firth 1956: 47). In St. Jean-Baptiste intermarriages between kin are a striking feature of every genealogy and are frequently commented upon by informants.

Another contrast between primitive and western societies is that in the latter there is a separation of economic relationships from those of kinship, outside the individual family. This contrast is necessarily not so marked in the township of St. Jean-Baptiste. As we have seen, its population is largely descended from a few original families who have intermarried extensively. Though the record is not complete, it appears that practically all the proprietors and employees of shops and other business premises are related to one or more of my informants, sometime closely. For example the Post Office is conducted by a married couple. The husband is a brother of Ego X while his wife is h.sis. to Ego I. And since all informants are related to each other, it will be seen that it would be impossible for them to avoid having business dealings with kinsfolk, even though the relationship involved might be a distant one. It must be emphasised, however, that this still differs from the articulation in primitive society of economic with kinship systems, since the latter do not in St. Jean-Baptiste dictate obligatory economic relations between kin. Such relations arise as a result of the pervasive character of genealogical connections within the community. But this also means that special economic favours, of the kind mentioned in Section 1, are in fact from time to time rendered to kinsfolk.

Another contrast, previously mentioned, is the prominence in Western society of the individual family, in contradistinction to primitive communities in which it is often embedded in wider kinship groups such as the extended family. This contrast also applies in St. Jean-Baptiste. Most of the houses are not large enough to accommodate more than one family, though in a few cases one finds affinal kin or unmarried relatives residing as members of the household. But I have no reason to think that such cases are more frequent than in other Western societies. What does distinguish the individual family in St. Jean-Baptiste is that though it is a discrete residential and economic unit, it is the centre of widely ramifying constellations[1] of kinship relationships. And the bonds existing within these constellations are multiplied and reinforced by the high incidence of marriages between kinsfolk.

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[1] I have chosen the term "constellation" from several suggested by Firth (1956; 16) to aply te aggregates of effective kinsfolk centred around a given individual. They are structurally quite different from discrete social groups into which the community as a whole is divided – for example the clans or extended families found in primitive societies. Membership differs from one individual to another and can only be defined in terms of relationships to the individual concerned. When, as with the *kano a paito* of Tikopia (Firth, 1936: 226), it is feasible for them to come together regularly on ceremonial occasions they may perhaps be called a kinship group. But when, as in St. Jean-Baptiste, such reunions are often made impossible by the geographical dispersal of kin, their continued existence depends essentially on more or less *ad hoc* personal contacts which

The importance attached to such constellations of kin – many of their members are remote from one another both genealogically and geographically – is reflected in the large number of names of kinsfolk known to informants. And even when they have to resort to mnemonic aids or to relatives for information, this is in itself significant: though they may not have the information at their fingertips, they know where it can be obtained. They realise that the range of their kinsfolk is far wider than that which they can call to mind at any given moment. This may be important when travelling, an activity which practically always involves calling on kinsfolk. One informant told me that when he visited Montreal he consulted the telephone directory to find the names of people having the same surname as himself with a view to getting into touch with them. He was astonished to find that "there were four pages of them" (I quote his statement verbatim; it may be an exaggeration). Mutual visiting is an important activity of kinsfolk, both within St. Jean-Baptiste and outside. The latter kind of visiting is largely conditioned by geographical proximity. As we have said, visits between kinsfolk in Winnipeg or St. Boniface and those in St. Jean-Baptiste are frequent; in the case of the western provinces of Canada and the U.S.A., contacts tend to be more occasional. But in such cases, the existence of kinship bonds provides a social *pied à terre* for the traveller. Thus one informant and his wife went to Chicago for their honeymoon and stayed at a hotel. On the day of their arrival a murder was committed in an adjoining bedroom. The wife said: "I don't like this place; we have relatives in Milwaukee; let's spend the rest of our honeymoon there" – which they did.

The preceding remarks may be compared with Garigue's observations on the significance of kinship in Montreal and in the new mining town of Schefferville in northern Quebec; and particularly with the statement of one informant in the latter community that he had fourteen kinsfolk in the town and that their presence made him feel "at home" there (1958: 68–69, 98–99).

Just as the knowledge of the existence of kin may be useful when travelling far afield, so travelling serves to keep alive knowledge of kin and their doings. One individual who was well-informed about related families in California, several of whom she had not seen for many years, told me that her sister, who lives there, pays regular visits to St. Jean-Baptiste and so keeps her abreast of family news.

Another means by which people may keep in touch with the doings of their geographically remote kinsfolk is the weekly paper *La Liberté et Le Patriote*. Each issue contains items of personal news from various places in Canada west of the provincial border between Ontario and Manitoba. These places are settlements with a majority or substantial minority of French Canadians. Occasionally items from the U.S.A. are included. The news items, usually from a quarter of a column to a column in length, contain accounts of births,

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various members have with the individual who froms their nucleus. In these circumstances it is better not to describe them as "groups".

marriages, deaths, wedding anniversaries, appointments to office and various social functions. I have myself found the journal extremely useful in keeping in touch with my friends at St. Jean-Baptiste and in learning of events among the French population of Western Canada generally. Incidentally it is worth noting that personal news items in *La Liberté et Le Patriote* frequently include, under a sub-heading *Va et Vient*, references to comings and goings to and from particular centres. The news presented reflects the mobile character of the French Canadian population of Western Canada, both in regard to migration and casual travel.

Though ties with kinsfolk may be maintained in the ways described, they are sometimes broken. One factor which tends to cause individuals to sever themselves, wholly or partially, from their French Canadian connections is the occurrence of marriages with persons of different ethnic origin. Differences of language, culture and sometimes religion may cause the alien spouses and their families to drift away from French Canadian associations. But this does not always occur. I have no quantitative data on what happens, ethnically and culturally, in these mixed marriages, but my impression is that the alien spouse and his or her children are drawn into French Canadian society quite as often as the family is lost to it.

The genealogies collected at St. Jean-Baptiste record 71 cases of French Canadians (33 men and 38 women) who are or were married to alien spouses, representing an extraordinarily wide variety of ethnic groups, as follows: 25 marriages with English Canadians or with migrants from England (informants were often unable to state which); 12 with Americans; 6 with Germans; 5 with Ukrainians; 4 each with Belgians and with persons of mixed European (including British) extraction; 3 each with Scots and Irish; 2 each with migrants from France and with *métis*; 1 marriage each with a Cuban, a Swede, a Czech, a Pole and an Italian.

Apart from the disruptive effects of some mixed marriages, there are other instances of French Canadians who simply drift away, as recorded in such statements as: "He went off to the U.S.A. – I don't know where", and "He went out west somewhere". But such vagueness is comparatively rare. Of all the recorded migrations to the U.S.A., only 5 were expressed in terms of the first of the above statements. Again, I questioned two informants (husband and wife) about the extent to which they visited, or received visits from, kinsfolk who had migrated further afield than Manitoba. Here unmarried individuals, or married couples, were taken as the units – children who accompanied their parents were not counted. The kinsfolk concerned were located in Quebec, Ontario, all the provinces of Canada west of Manitoba and also in California and the Central states. Contacts were reported as follows: regular visits, 16; occasional visits, 22; no visits, 31. The last figure includes six cases in California, previously mentioned, in which the informant received regular news from her sister.

It is clear that, in spite of geographical distance, considerable contact is maintained with migrant kinsfolk. This is even more marked in the case of those who have not migrated so far afield. But it must be emphasised, in line with what was said above, that the regularities involved in social contacts are in both cases statistical and not normative. When informants reported that they had not seen or heard of a certain relative for a very long time, I never detected any note of regret or resentment in their tone. The relatives concerned had chosen to move out of the kinship constellation, and that was all there was to it. There were always plenty left.

6. Kinship and French Canadian Culture

The main features of kinship in St. Jean-Baptiste are similar to those found in other French Canadian communities. It has long been recognised that the character of the French Canadian nuclear family is an important factor in the survival of the French Canadians as an ethnic group. It appears that extended kinship, in the form of the constellations to which we referred in the preceding Section, is also of the greatest significance for the persistence of French Canadian culture. But in connection with this statement it is necessary to ask just what is meant by "French Canadian culture".

Discussions on this subject have been confused by certain mistaken assumptions, briefly mentioned in Section (1). These assumptions are sometimes explicitly stated, but more often are implicit in the argument. One of them is that the quintessence of French Canadian culture is to be found in the pristine organization of the rural parishes along the banks of the St. Lawrence River and in the traditional way of life of the *habitants* of that region. These have been described as "folk societies" possessing "folk cultures" in terms of Redfield's classic definition. They certainly have exhibited in the past – and to some extent still exhibit – most of the characteristics of folk cultures as these are known to anthropologists (Piddington 1957: 753). But what is definitely incorrect is to categorise French Canadian culture as a whole in these terms, and to suggest that such factors as migration, urbanization, industrialization, the loss of economic self-sufficiency in rural communities, and the economic dominance of Anglo-American interests in large business enterprises will necessarily mean the radical disorganization or even disappearance of the French Canadian way of life. Such statements involve the assumptions (a) that the static folk culture of the *habitants* was the only true French Canadian culture, and (b) that such a culture was quite incapable of standing up to the impact of the factors mentioned above without undergoing radical disorganization. The first of these assumptions involves what Bennett and Wolff have called "the fallacy of the microcosm" (1955: 340). The culture of the *habitants* represented but one phase of French Canadian culture, both geographically and historically. It was not the original culture of New France, the main activity of which was trade, pre-eminently the fur trade, and not agriculture (Wade 1950: 13; Garigue 1958: 18). People engaged in the fur trade rather than the *habitants* were the first French Canadians. The subsequent rural settlement along the banks of the St. Lawrence went on *pari passu* with exploration of Canada and the westward expansion of the fur trade. Commercial undertakings and educational institutions developed in Quebec city and in Montreal. There were always political leaders and administrators, first as servants of metropolitan France and, after the conquest, as increasingly active agents in developing relations with the English. And in the region with which we are specially concerned – Canada west of the Precambrian shield – agricultural settlement was not a mere transplanting of the self-sufficient rural life of the *habitants* to the banks of the Red River. Agriculture, like the bison hunt, was at first a "service industry" to the fur trade (Morton 1957: 88). Moreover, as we have seen, many of the original Red River settlers came not from Quebec, but from the industrialised regions of the New England States.

The second assumption – that the social culture of the St. Lawrence settlements must necessarily disintegrate as a result of technological and economic changes – seems to be refuted by Miner's 1949 re-study of St. Denis (1950: 1–10). He describes the economic factors which produced changes in material living standards, particularly the Government provision of family allowances and subsidies for livestock and dairy products. These stimulated the economy and introduced into the community a whole range of items of agricultural machinery, household electrical appliances and the like. Increased transport and a greater use of postal facilities also led the people of St. Denis to have more contacts with the outside world.

But facts of this order do not prove – nor does Miner suggest that they prove – that there has been any radical "disintegration" or "disorganization" in the value system and inter-personal relations of the people of St. Denis. On the contrary, some at least of the innovations conduce to the preservation of these essential features of the local way of life; for example, the raised standard of living has made easier the family life on farms. There is no evidence that the social culture of St. Denis is disintegrating; rather is it becoming better integrated by providing a higher standard of material welfare and by becoming more integrally connected with the culture of French Canada as a whole, a culture of which the traditional way of life in St. Denis represents one subculture.

In view of what has been said, it is intersting to note how it has come about that the life of the Quebec *habitant* has been regarded as epitomising French Canadian culture. In the first place many French Canadian *littérateurs*, historians and publicists have held up the rural parish of Quebec as representing the highest ideal of French Canadian society, as a way of life to which it is a duty of piety and patriotism to conform. Secondly, there has been the influence of the scientific descriptions of rural life in Quebec, given by Leon Gérin and Horace Miner. These have attracted well-deserved attention through the thoroughness of their description and analysis; and also because of the exotic, even idyllic, appeal which their subject-matter has for members of more sophisticated societies. Descriptions of other forms of French Canadian society, though of equal scientific importance, are less spectacular and less "different".

Everett Hughes' well-known study of Cantonville (1954) describes the effects of industrialization on a formerly rural population; but the way in which such populations can, after a period of re-integration, adapt themselves without drastic disorganization to the problems of industrial life is indicated in the essays on the strike at Asbestos and in Garigue's study of Schefferville (Trudeau 1956; Garigue 1958: 88–102). In both these cases we see an industrialised group becoming adapted to new conditions without ceasing to be French Canadians. Finally, Garigue's work on St. Joseph's Oratory and on kinship in Montreal (1958: 63–87) has shown that in two of its major aspects – religion and kinship – French Canadian culture is not destroyed by urbanization but merely assumes somewhat new forms.

We have seen that French Canadian society as a whole has always been a differentiated one. At different times and in different parts of Canada, it has undergone profound changes and has adapted itself to a variety of new developments – political, economic and social. This leads us to question the assumption which manifests itself in much of what has been written about contemporary changes and possible future developments – the assumption that French Canadian culture cannot at the same time survive and adapt itself to the demands of modern conditions.

French Canadian society to-day provides a modern example of the process which I have termed emergent development (Piddington, 1957: 732). It is becoming more differentiated, though not necessarily in the direction of closer approximation to Anglo-American standards. There is in fact a conscious opposition to the "materialism" which would be implied in such a development. Standards of living are rising and material amenities increasing. But these facts need not mean the abandonment of the fundamental organising principles of French Canadian society – the Church with its many associated institutions, educational and otherwise; the French language; political and moral attitudes towards *les Anglais*, exacerbated from time to time by the repercussions of minority status; and French Canadian conceptions of kinship, with all that these imply. These characteristics permeate the various subcultures which have differentiated themselves, the Red River settlements providing one example.

It is of course true that certain individuals, both in Canada and the U.S.A., become completely severed from French Canadian life. But such cases, even if they were numerous, would not affect the survival of French Canadian society and culture. An army at war can, and indeed must, lose individual members as casualties. But so long as it receives reinforcements and is not decimated or demoralised, it continues to function as a system of human organization.

Quite apart from this consideration, it must not be assumed that the loss of individual French Canadians into the wider society of North America must necessarily have a disruptive effect. On the contrary, it serves in many cases the useful function of removing divorcees, atheists, and other misfits and deviants from French Canadian society. As Everett Hughes states the position: "French Canada has never had to swallow its own spit. Its balance of population has long been maintained by spilling the excess into a continent until recently thirsty for settlers and agricultural labour. Its malcontents and heretics have been able to find companions and a place to exercise their peculiar talents somewhere in North America. How much relief from inner pressure of number and of psychological and social tension French Canada has been afforded by being part of something larger than herself, no one can say." (1948: 481–482).

To sum up, French Canadian culture continues to survive, though in a variety of new forms which are themselves constantly changing. In this process of survival, kinship plays an important part. It serves to integrate the local community by providing a complex set of interlocking kinship relationships. These provide channels through which significant social activities can be organised; in particular, they facilitate marriages between kin, which in turn strengthen the system. Outside the local community, kinship does much to offset the disruptive effects of migration by maintaining links between migrants and the communities which they have left; it also provides facilities for social contacts and economic opportunities for people who travel. The material from St. Jean-Baptiste suggests that over the whole of Canada and large areas of the U.S.A. there spreads a network of recognised kinship relationships which helps to keep French Canadians aware, despite geographical dispersion, of their identity as a distinct ethnic group and of the advantages of belonging to such a group.

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The Sociology of Housing Methods and Prospects of Research[1]

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RIGHT up to the last few years, we badly gauged the effects of the industrial revolution on the transformation of housing and the changes of social life taking place in that respect. From civilization to civilization, from age to age, man has built houses that expressed in their way the relation between nature and society: the towns themselves were organised in accordance with well-defined functions to meet requirements by faithfully reflecting the social groups and the relations between these groups.

The problems nowadays facing the architect, the town-planner or the general planner are no longer confined to the harmonious arrangement of clearly defined elements. Cities have become monsters, housing shortages have often disorganized the whole of social life. Replanning, deconcentration, the creation of new towns in the middle of deserts, the drafting of housing programmes with hundreds of thousands of housing units, all these have become every day tasks. In view of the pressing nature of the solutions to be found, the technical problems first appeared to be the only really important ones. But the development of psychological and social disturbances in recent housing, the necessity of meeting requirements as yet unknown or poorly defined, the disquiet about the distant consequences of plans drawn up too hastily, these made it necessary to pose questions of quite a different nature. Other forms of research asserted themselves. It is no longer simply a matter of finding the best means of using the material in the service of man. Man himself has tended to be overlooked by us. Before we can house him, we must know him.

This necessity of jointly finding a solution to urgent problems for the greater good of all, and of forecasting the future by standying in advance long-term programmes, has brought together in the same teams architects, engineers and representatives of social sciences. What have been the results of these encounters? What are the problems posed by the pooling of their efforts?

We shall not go into the birth and the development of the sociology of housing in various countries here, since we had the opportunity to give a detailed inscription of these in a recent work.[1] We must therefore ask to be excused from giving references to the many works already published on this subject. The members of this congress can furthermore obtain reviews of these works from the slips published by C.S.T.B.[2] We shall merely recall the first exchanges of ideas between experts in Europe at the C.I.B. Congress in 1956 in Paris and the second meeting held in London. These efforts should be added to those of European Committee of Housing and of the European Bureau of the Administration of Technical Assistance of the United Nations. The study cycle organized at Sèvres in 1958 in collaboration with the French Ministry of Health is an example of this.[3] Likewise the work of family organizations had led to considerable documentation on the subject.[4] We regret that we have unfortunately been unable to complete our documentation on various countries, in particular those of Eastern Europe, but we hope that this congress will offer an opportunity to fill that gap.

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[1] Lecture to the International congress of the C.I.B. Rotterdam 1959, first published in the french revieuw *Urbanisme* 1959.

Taking into account this knowledge and the experiments which we have followed more closely with our team, we should like to find a definition of sociology in housing, to try and determine the main subjects of work and the methods which are beginning to form and to give some examples of results. We should then be able to see the prospects that are opened to this new field of research which is as yet little more than virgin territory.

In this report, which must of necessity be a brief one, we shall not so much try to list all the work to be done as spotlight some of the principal basic problems which appear to us to arise, and in this way, we hope to lay the ground of a discussion.

1. The themes of Research

On various occasions, we have urged the necessity of studying at the same time housing as an integral part of social life and the internal social life of the family or families in housing.[5] In other words, the plan of a dwelling cannot be elaborated without defining the civilization in which its occupants live or the town plan of which it forms part, and furthermore the town plan cannot be envisaged without making allowance for the needs of households studied on their behaviour and their relations to the interior of the dwelling.

In this perspective, the study of functions can be nothing more than an aspect of the sociology of housing. It must be preceded by a definition of the needs and aspirations, and also by a study of the family group or groups of neighbourhoods, relations, structures in relation to economic changes, to demographic evolution, to the views on life and the ways of life of the various classes of the population.

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[1] Famille et Habitation, Volume I – Sciences Humaines et Conception de l'Habitation – Works of the Social Ethnology Group – Paris, published by the C.N.R.S. 1959.

[2] "Information Internationales", in Cahiers du C.S.T.B. since 1956, particularly no 27 and 29.

[3] European Study Cycle on the social aspects of housing. United Nations, Geneva, 1958.

[4] Housing committee of the I.U.F.O. – Brussels.

[5] "Habitation et vie sociale" in Cahiers du C.S.T.B. 1956 – Vol. 27 and also "Famille et Habitation" (op. cit.) Introduction and Chapter II.

It is in relation to these preliminary studies that we can determine the quantitative and qualitative needs in housing, forecasts and programmes, standards of floor-space, the types of housing to be chosen, collective facilities, groups of houses, integral wholes, etc....

Seen in this light, the themes of research can be divided into three major groups: 1. housing and the family – 2. from the "small neighbourhood" to the "integral whole" – 3. housing in society, the town and the region.

1. Housing and the Family

The French architects and engineers with whom we have discussed the interior lay-out of houses have insisted on the importance to the drafting of a plan of separating functions in space. Some take as their main division day and night (Prieur), others parents and children (Wogenscky), other private life and communal life (Pingusson). But, as Le Corbusier pointed out, all try to make these various divisions crosscheck. Their remarks confirm in part the conclusions of investigations that we have made into the behaviour and the wishes of families in the new housing, but in part only.

a. *Knowledge of needs*

On the one hand, we have mentioned the unsufficient knowledge of the requirements that the functions must satisfy. Even now they are still inadequately inventorized, poorly analysed, badly graded. Their variations in accordance with the different social categories and the different regions are ignored for greater part. On the other hand, the analysis of the very notion of function through the history of functionalism, the comparative studies in various cultures and the recent investigations in many different types of housing, emphasize a dangerous ambiguity. The word is given too restrictive a meaning and too technical a sense which suppress the entire freedom of the individual, as if we are housing rabbits or mice and not human beings.

A family's house is not an ordinary mechanism. It forms a coherent whole, a structure which should express the structure of the family and allow the latter to live in harmony, making allowance not only for the function of each member at any moment but also for the role which he plays in relation to the other members. The possibilities of communication and of communion between persons must be respected. As we have said before, it is not simply a matter of being logical, practical, utilitarian. Whilst functionalims in the widest sense has opened up new vistas, an excess of narrow functionalism can lead to housing which is technically perfect but housing in which human beings whose material wants have apparently all been satisfied go crazy twice as quickly as before.

To quote only one example to which we shall return, detailed research into the matter of floor-space per person has brought us to the conclusion that the improvement of interior lay-outs does not allow of reducing the standards of dwelling occupancy, except minimally. It is namely impossible for a given civilization to limit the needs of space and the need to appropriate space whilst trying to satisfy other needs.

Numerous authors have already attempted to inventorize the needs arising out of housing and to show the effects on families if these needs are not satisfied (Abrams and Dean, Kennedy, Brocham). But, writers such as Kennedy, who make an interesting analysis of the needs felt by the husband, the wife, the children, the grandparents and the domestic servants confine themselves to well-off families, the only ones for whom it is at present possible to provide suitable housing. Others, such as Abrams and Dean, on the other hand, take into account situations of families out of every income group in the social scale, and the necessity of the constant adaptation of housing to the new requirements and new structures, stressing the consequences of depressions, of changes of residence, of conflict of roles, etc.... But their study would require to be completed by the work of architects taking their remarks into account. Others again, such as Norwegian group whose activities have been described by Brochmann, have given remarkable descriptions of family behaviour but have not studied the motivations of this behaviour deeply enough. Still others confine themselves to polls on needs, and we shall criticize these polls below from the point of view of methodology. But in any case we have quite enough studies to attempt useful syntheses. Various bodies in a number of countries occupy themselves with this. In France, it is one of our tasks, in collaboration with the Scientific and Technical Building Centre.

b. *Living standards and economic problems*

One of the best starting points for a study of the needs of families with regard to housing is to observe their manner of organizing the space at their disposal in relation to the way they plan their time and their budget. Now, these three problems are interrelated and this is one of the reasons why it is so difficult to get families with very different ways of life to live in the same group of dwellings. In accordance with salary and profession, that is to say depending on the part played by the father or mother in the production process, we have shown that the monthly or daily rhythms of expenditure vary considerably. At the same time the place of the item housing in this expenditure and the importance attached to it vary.

How can housing programmes be planned in advance without knowing the financial possibilities of the families and the importance to them of housing? One of the reasons for lack of understanding in the discussions between specialists of different countries is often that the consequences of the variations in the standard of living are not sufficiently known. It would be rather trite to remark that if you are at the same time hungry and warm, the need for housing is less imperative. But it is more difficult exactly to evaluate this need in each country. To do this, detailed investigations and general studies of the economic situation will have to be made at the same time.

c. *The cultural aspect and aspirations*

The variation in needs is not due solely to the changes in material conditions but also to the different types of culture, to the models and the guiding images to which the population are attached, to the trends of thought which govern the conception of housing. That is why we have stressed the necessity of ethnological research and of the history of ideas.

If this knowledge of the mental processes of the people to be housed is important in regions that are already industrialized, what pitfalls beset the unwary when housing programmes have to be drawn up for countries described as economically underdeveloped. What is the evolution of the Moslem family or the coloured family in tall blocks of flats? Must one disregard psychological, emotional and spiritual needs linked to roles and structures? Is it impossible to make allowance for these without retarding the necessary changes? What are the shocks caused by the lack of adaptation between these people and their new homes?

These questions would impel us to start from entirely new bases. Instead of explaining all the behaviour of individuals and families in the dwellings by studying the frustrations and the conflicts arising out of the failure to satisfy the most elementary needs, instead of attaching an almost exclusive importance to subconscious sexual instincts in the psychological explanation, we would want to give true prominence to the frustrations mentioned above to the lack of hope, to the absence of anything to live for, which is wealthy countries unbalance many of our contemporaries more certainly than the fact of having been emotionally frustrated in infancy.

The merit of certain architects, such as Le Corbusier, is to see the big picture, to present overall views which can doubtless be criticized but which are a call to a new life. What we have to study are not only the needs of human beings, nor their temporary wishes translated by what is often an answer as curt as it is inexact to a hasty questionnaire. We must study deep aspirations, what they are living for. In certain countries disillusioned young people have started revolutions for no reason at all. If they really took part in collective work, if they felt themselves part and parcel of a town built for them and with them, if they lived in houses where every member of the family had the opportunity of selfexpression and creation, would they still need to start revolutions?

Here we return to the problem of the freedom of families and of individuals. We have been pleased to see our efforts in this field reinforced not only by those of architects, with whom we have published interviews, but also by those of doctors such as Doctor Hazemann, who has recently dealt at length with the subjects in a series of articles.[1] However, for us it is not a question of freeing man in his home from the physical and mental ills lying in wait for him. We must envisage a freer life in a more constructive, a more dynamic sense. Architects and sociologists wishing to work together should bear that in mind before they start.

2. From the small neighbourhood to the integral whole

We can envisage a free life only by studying families in a larger framework than the home. The group of dwellings, the neighbourhood, the district, the town as a whole are zones of insertion steadily increasing in extent that have to be defined.

In this respect we are not in favour of the over-rigid categories for which a definition has often been attempted, too frequently on the basis of personal ideas or beliefs, but more exact studies allow us to see the errors to which plans forgetting these needs of regrouping lead.

a. *Households and the primary group of the neighbourhood*

There is no shortage of works by sociologists on the "primary" or "elementary" groups. However, when it comes to finding what is meant exactly by a neighbourhood unit, it is surprising to see that town-planners sometimes define this as a small number of households, and sometimes as a group of 10,000 dwellings.

Both in the country and in the town, groups of a number of households have tended to form at local level. The urban equivalent of the hamlet and its minor internal tensions is the little world of the staircase or the landing. Here, however, we note enormous differences which are no longer dependent on civilization – the phenomenon is a universal one wherever there are villages – but, in the urban environment, dependent on social class. Is the "neighbourhood" a lower-class need? Are the classes who shake themselves free of it and make a new set of tensions for themselves in their dealings with the outside world or with relatives better off?

It would seem that with regard to the liberation of which we have just spoken, solutions allowing families to choose for themselves the neighbours they would prefer to have within a fairly large unit would be the best. But among the solutions envisaged, what are the best? For various reasons we do not believe that the detached or semi-detached house necessarily gives more freedom in an urban centre than properly designed blocks of flats provided with generous landings.[2] But this subject has not yet been studied deeply enough. The few investigations available to us are only a beginning. But at any rate

[1] Hazemann, R. H. "La liberté concrète, condition de la Santé physique et mentale", Revue d'hygiène et de médecine sociale, Vol. VII, No. 1, 1959, pp. 34–45.

[2] See on this matter the criticism which follows of polls which claim to show that a house is alway widely preffered to a flat.

they allow us to state that research in this field is possible and profitable.

b. *From the village to the district*

The dimensions of a larger living unit might appear easier to define. In rural life villages – for instance in France – rarely exceed 1,500 inhabitants without becoming small towns. The small urban residential districts that we have studied in working-class areas of a large conurbation such as Paris varied from 800 to 2000 inhabitants.

In France, the plans of the Ministry of Construction provide for units of 200 to 300 households, districts of 800 to 1,200 households, "arrondissements" (roughly equivalent to wards) of 1,500 to 2,500 households and towns of 10,000 households.[1] But the programmes do not make allowance for the variation in needs from social class to social class. On the other hand, it is still open to question as to which of the above units should contain the main collective facilities. And this question can only be answered if we have a deeper knowledge of the needs.

What are the needs that have to be satisfied by these provisions? What is the structure of a unit? How do relations tend to establish themselves between families, and between families and single persons? What are the relations between the various generations? What is the pyramid of optimum ages? What are the relations established between the different social classes? What groups make a spontaneous appearance? What organized groups are to be expected? Have the plans for housing groups an answer to all the social needs that underlie these questions? Only methodical investigations and experimental studies can give the right solutions. In this case, too, these studies can be relatively rapid if the researchers have the necessary means at their disposal.

c. *The integral whole and the gateway to a new civilization*

All these problems recur on a much greater scale when we consider the regrouping of residential districts in the new integral wholes. Between the satellite towns which we have seen come into being in Britain and the huge projects integrated into conurbations such as have been carried out in other countries and recently in France, industrial society has not yet found a suitable urban framework.

Since the Charter of Athens, in which town planners defined the various functions of an urban whole: living, moving about, working, cultivating the body and the mind, research has been continued, and the problem of the facilities of the integral whole as it occurs today demonstrates the extent to which the awareness of an harmonious social life has developed. In recent works of the French Ministry of Construction[2] we are presented with a plan of facilities comprising educational and cultural facilities, commercial facilities, social and health facilities, green spaces, parking and sport grounds. In other countries extensive studies have likewise been made of the requirements at various levels in the urban whole. I have in mind here in particular the remarkable Dutch works and the British, Swedish, German, Polish, etc. studies, among those on which we happen to be documented. It has everywhere been found that social life in the new residential districts is impossible if the collective facilities are not widely developed. In particular it may be observed that a valid comparison between individual houses and blocks of flats cannot be made as long as collective facilities have not been provided in a sufficiently complete and exact manner.

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[1] The review "Urbanisme" Nos. 62–63, 1959.

[2] See "Urbanisme" Nos. 62 and 63, 1959.

But we believe that the essential thing in these reflections, in all these studies, however remarkable they may be, is to link up the analysis of the particular needs of such and such a sector to the overall conception of the housing project that has to give expression to the existing social structures and still more to the social structures tending to appear. To give only one example, it will be claer that the provision of commercial facilities is linked to that of cultural facilities. The analyses made so far on old towns have shown the extent to which the commercial and the cultural centres of attraction tend to intermingle. But it must not be the commercial centres that dictate the introduction of cultural centres, as often happens in a non-planned town. On the contrary, planning must make it possible to use the introduction of commercial centres to facilitate the development plans of cultural activities. To give an exact idea of the importance of this problem it would be necessary to take a series of examples in a given town, which would lead us too far.

3. Housing in society, the town, the region

In connection with what has been said above, we think that we may state that a study of dwellings and housing cannot be embarked upon without at the same time bearing in mind a definition of the town in the regional whole and in the community at large. That is why the most general works on town-planning, the studies of territorial planning making allowance for economic and demographic problems, must be studied by the architects, the engineers and the builders whose responsibility is to house people who belong to different social classes and who have to coexist in the same urban framework. Forecasts of population development or calculations of the possibilities in industrial production, of the evolution of consumer demand, these must guide the work of town-planners, for without them it is not possible to draw up valid housing programmes.

But, at the same time, the town cannot be envisaged solely in the light of these problems. The transformation of social structures, the development of relations between the various social groups must be studied by sociologists parallel to the work of economists and demographers. Now for the purposes of this study research into the disintegration of the old structures and the deterioration of behaviour of which the housing shortage is both the cause and the result are absolutely indispensable. Work on juvenile delinquency, infantile psychiatry, criminology, the development of mental ills, etc. must run parallel to studies of the lack of vitality of social groups and the absence of ties between individuals which is the result. An inventory of the residential districts requiring transformation and the preliminary research needed for this transformation are impossible without this kind of prior study.

Finally, it is necessary to seek behind these social changes the part played by trends of thought, ideologies, views of life, different systems of value and cultural patterns followed by the people who have to live in the towns. By bearing in mind historical studies and comparisons between civilizations in an age when cultural contacts between the various peoples of the world occupy a similar place, we must make this effort of comprehension to solve technical problems in a valid manner. We shall come back a little later to the subject of respecting the liberty of the individual and of human groups in our civilization.

II

The Methods

We cannot discuss every approach to the themes to which we have just referred. We shall therefore concentrate on questions concerning housing proper and neighbourhood units, i.e. subject 1 and part of subject 2.

In every form of research the procedure is progressively to define in an increasingly exact fashion criteria and indices whose variations we could discern. The analysis of the variables makes it possible in particular to determine thresholds which will give indications of measures to be taken by the builders. On the other hand, the study of functions and structures and the study of the behaviour pattern of the users and the motivation of this pattern will allow us to define the needs and the aspirations with which urban housing and towns must comply.

Having regard to the breadth of the problems studied, it cannot be enough to apply the methods peculiar to one branch of science. The study of social life in housing is the result of teamwork by specialists from various branches. On the other hand, if the aim of this work is to achieve precise applications in the shortest possible time, we shall see that fundamental research has nevertheless to occupy a major position in the very interests of successive applications.

1. Public opinion polls for the experimental study of social life

In the first investigations made into housing sociologists set out chiefly to find out the opinions expressed by the users. Useful information has been collected in this way, but nowadays these mass polls appear insufficient, for the persons polled reply without being adequately aware of the data of the problems being put to them. For instance, the preference for a house which we have noted in various countries has no significance as long as the users do not know what they can expect from flats. In a recent inquiry we found that a large number of persons who had previously expressed the desire to have a house had in fact been happy in a flat. Their true needs, which they were unable to formulate clearly, were in fact satisfied in a manner that they did not expect. It is none the less true that many families prefer a house, but the figures given by public opinion polls cannot always be directly used. Now that the construction of large blocks of flats is imperative in many towns and cities, it is essential seriously to review these methods of observation.

We think it is necessary that nowadays the opinion of the population at large, of whom a representative sample has been taken (10 to 20,000 households in national inquiries) be supplemented by experimental research relating to limited sets of subjects chosen in given housing groups. These few subjects are then studied more deeply, the conditions under which they are observed being supervised more and more precisely. Research of this type has been conducted in Britain, in Holland, in France, in Germany, in the Scandinavian countries, etc.

More and more it is proving necessary to follow the households studied for quite a long period and if possible to make experiments by observing the same households before rehousing, just after rehousing and two or three years later. The construction of groups of dwellings based on the results of investigations is the best means of arriving at an exact check. The Norwegian work in this respect is among the most advanced research.

2. The estimation of needs

Needs can be estimated first of all by carefully studying the way of life, the behaviour and the attitudes of the households concerned. To do this, the questionnaires have to be applied taking into account the situation that must occupy an important position. In this way we collect a series of variables that will have to be related to the variables of behaviour and attitudes.

The situation in social life must be understood to mean the place occupied in professional life, in the financial scale, in the social classes, in the ethnic groups, in the age groups, etc. Depending on the various situations, the standard of living and the way of life are equally modified, in connection with the cultural influences which join those of material conditions.

The behaviour pattern and the attitudes of households in the dwellings in which they are studied vary significantly in connection with the preceding variables. Now behaviour towards children, towards food, towards the neighbourhood, etc., are intimately linked up with ways of using the dwelling on the one hand and on the other hand with more general attitudes towards society and to a view of life. Sufficiently extensive questionnaires consisting of questions requiring to be answered by a yes or a no, questions to which interested parties can reply at length and scales which allow of classifying the subjects in a more precise manner must be used at the same time.

For instance, if households want to have room to eat their meals together in the kitchen, it is not possible to determine the needs which architects have to satisfy without taking into account exact observations of social life as it is lived at the privileged moment of sharing out food. Now a meal varies quite considerably in significance from country to country and from social class to social class in the same country. It is not difficult to establish types of households corresponding to types of situations and as result to establish housing programmes.

In this research, a privileged part must be given to the study of the relations between the planning of time and the utilization of space, to those of economic behaviour (place of housing in the family budget and consumption habits) and to those of the social parts played by the various members of the family and of the transformations of family structures and relations.

The observation of families selected at random in the housing groups must be completed by research into pathological cases. It is in the main the study of the deterioration of behaviour linked to material housing problems that has made it possible for us to determine the thresholds of floor-space and occupancy below which one must not go without almost certainly exposing the occupants to serious disturbances.

Taking these various elements into account, we can list the needs which we mentionned above, and we can try to see at what moment and in what way the satisfaction of the occupants manifests itself. Beyond the pathological threshold we can then determine the equally important thresholds of satisfaction.

Finally, it is also possible to study the aspirations of households. But it can never simply be a matter of asking questions about wishes regarding such and such facilities. It is by means of many questions which often appear to be irrelevant that investigators manage to find out what the aspirations are of households, aspirations that they cannot always express clearly.

3. The dynamic and experimental study

For a valid study of the complex whole of variables, it is necessary to call upon the notion of social environment. The behaviour and the attitudes of an individual or a group are in relation to all the elements of social environment in which this individual or group exists. It often happens that relations are established between a variable of behaviour and a variable of environment which do not provide an answer to the questions asked. To choose adequate variables it is necessary to have available a general table which is often difficult to draw up. From this table it will be possible to choose variables to be isolated and regrouped. For instance the variable floor-space per person (or the variable number of inhabitants per room) can be isolated with a certain degree of accuracy and related to another variable, that of degree of satisfaction. But on the other hand, this variable degree of satisfaction may have an even stronger tie with the variable sound-proofing (see III below).

It is out of the question to study individuals in this social environment at a given moment without taking into account their past experience, that is to say the influence which other social environments in which they have lived have had on them. The answer of a subject who has spent many years in poor housing in a working-class district in contact with other very ill-favoured families does not have the same significance at all as the reply of a subject who is a member of quite a different social class.

The very environment in which the households are studied also changes progressively. That is why observation must make allowance for the laps of time.

The subjects are observed in their housing, but it is not possible to situate them solely in a material three-dimensional space. They must be located in a multi-dimensional social space. Allowance must be made at the same time for the position occupied by the subjects in the dwelling or in the group of dwellings and for the social differences that separate the individuals in terms of their prejudices, their degree of comprehension and possibilities of communication. Households that live close together in material space may be separated because their ideas of life are very different.

Nevertheless, the lay-out of houses and rooms influences social relations and communications. Builders must be aware of the channels of communication and the changes brought about by the plans that they think up. These studies of sociometric ecology can be made by using the techniques known as group dynamics, but with certain reservations. For so far this type of research has consisted above all in bringing together artificially constituted groups and in observing how communications established themselves between the members. In the case interesting us it is essential to observe the subjects in their usual social environment and the relations that are established in daily life.

Thus the work of the observers cannot be carried on without the very active participation of the households observed, which poses difficult problems of introduction and of contacts. The problems are still more complex when it becomes a matter of proceeding to experimentation proper, but the subjects may be much more cooperative if they understand that the endeavours of the architects and the sociologists are meant to be of direct use to them and of use to the population at large.

4. The ethical aspect

If it is impossible to work effectively without winning the confidence of the households concerned, the sociologists assume certain responsibilities in respect to them. It would be dangerous to ask the households to participate in producing solutions which would be contrary to their aspirations. Now it is possible that the economic interests of the builders are inconsistent with those of the users. The sociologists must therefore contribute towards establishing better understanding between the two groups. The only means of occupying correct position is to communicate the results of the research to the two parties at the same time. We have already had an opportunity to convince builders of the necessity of these measures. I think that they have not regretted it.

On the other hand, another moral problem arises. To what extent have we the right to make experiments? In fact, every construction that is new is an experiment and the systematic studies that we must make can sender it possible on the contrary to experiment in a sense that is more favourable to those concerned. However, it is nor impossible that the results of the investigations used to facilitate the implementation of some political or social reform of the other, of which the population are not aware and which may run counter to their aspirations. There is thus a duty to inform the public so that town-planning is envisaged as having the maximum possible participation of all the classes of the population and of representatives of every group and every trend.

III

Examples of Results

What are the results which we can henceforth obtain from the work done? The accounts given by various countries in published works and articles show very different examples. But almost everywhere the interest aroused by research has impelled architects, engineers and builders to use certain data from the investigations of the researchers. The papers which are to be read at this congress itself will be able to give a more exact idea of the possibilities of practical utilization.

For our part, we should merely like to take a few very limited examples relating to various studies that we have undertaken in recent years.

1. Determination of the floor-space thresholds

We have urged the importance of determining thresholds for various indices. As regards the matter of occupancy (floor-space per person or number of residents per room) several investigations which cross-check have allowed us provisionally to suggest two floor-space thresholds which can be utilized only in a country like France. These thresholds would have to be revised for other areas, but the principle of determination can perhaps remain the same.

a. *Relations between parents and children*

From a preliminary series of investigations we have found that certain forms of behaviour by the parents with regard to the children vary significantly according to the floor-space available. We have found that in housing that is too small the tension between the mother and the children in particular became critical beyond a certain occupancy threshold.

b. *Infantile psychiatry*

The research done later by Mrs. Chombart de Lauwe has demonstrated that misbehaviour of children became much more frequent beyond an occupancy threshold very close to the first one.

In terms of these two sets of researches, we have estimated that there was a critical threshold around 8 square metres per person or 2.3 residents per room.

Despite various remarks that have been made on this matter we do not believe that a better lay-out of the ground plan or of the facilities can vary the critical threshold very much, but investigations made to date have not yet been very numerous, so that we merely put forward these figures as a working hypothesis requiring checking.

c. *The thresholds of satisfaction*

In other investigations made among families in old dwellings or in new groups of housing, we have noticed that the degree of satisfaction varied very significantly, as might be expected, with the floor-space per person and that the curves of satisfaction displayed an abrupt change beyond a certain threshold. We think that now we can locate this threshold around 14 to 16 square metres per person. But, as for the preceding threshold, studies will of course have to be continued to arrive at greater precision.

This second threshold will probably vary a little more according to lay-out of the ground-plan and the arrangement of rooms than the preceding threshold. However, cross-checking of these remarks with other observations of attitudes and motivations leads us to believe that the need for space and the need for adaptation of space have to be considered in themselves and that a reduction of the standards of floor-space in exchange for a rearrangement of rooms may have grave psychological and sociological consequences. To furnish all the proof required it would be necessary to resume the research into the need for independance felt by the individual and groups of persons inside the dwelling, the need for rest and relaxation, the need for external social relations, the need to be taken into consideration, etc., such as we began to conduct in a series of groups of new dwellings.

d. *Search for optima*

It would seem that there are not only lower threshold but also upper thresholds in a given civilization and a given country, although up to now we have far fewer elements to support this hypothesis. We have merely found that in overspacious dwellings which moreover correspond to the standard of living of very well-off families, the social distances between the various members of the family were influenced by the material distances and that the emotional development of the children could feel the effects of it very badly.

Consequently, a comparison of these lower and upper threshold should facilitate the search for the optima to determine the programmes. These optima would probably vary in a quite distinct fashion not only from one country to another, but from one social category to another in one and the same country.

2. **Some essentials** (other than needs of space)

In the course of our inquiries we have noted that among the needs that we brought to the fore certain essentials are called for hence forth in construction. Of these, we may cite the following:

a. *Sound-proofing*

In the course of comparative research embracing three groups of new housing, we found that, as mentioned above, the degree of satisfaction varied radically when the dwellings were sound-proofed or not. Looking at it from another angle, we found as in many other investigations that noise had catastrophic effects not only from the point of view of nervous fatigue but also with regard to social relations between families and within the same family.

It has been possible to analyse the importance of noises heard in the dwelling, those coming from the flat above being by far the most important in one of the housing projects, those of the pipes in another, followed closely by those of the flat below, of the lifts and of the staircases shared by the flats. In the only really sound-proofed project there were only a few very occasional complaints about pipes and lifts. The whole social life of the project had been transformed. And, a special point, one of the main objections to communal housing was now no longer applicable.

b. *Collective facilities*

During the last few years in France, as in other countries observations have been made on the absolute necessity of developing collective facilities in groups of housing and in large wholes. In the course of our inquiries, which have been going on for some years, we have not ceased, in company with other observers (cf. the studies of Houist, Dayre, etc.) to stress the very grave dangers inherent in bringing together large numbers of families in groups of housing without giving them certain indispensable means. In particular, we have accentuated the necessity of crèches, of day nurseries for children, of premises for young people, of sports fields, of playgrounds, of guided activities, etc. And of course, with greater reason the traditional facilities, from the commercial point of view, from the angle of the social services, etc., must be provided.

Precise sociological studies can therefore make it possible to grade collective needs just like individual needs within the home. The programmes of the Ministry of Construction to which we have already referred fortunately provide for a much greater number of collective provisions than formerly at various levels. It would seem that account has been amply taken of the observations that we have just cited. Nevertheless quite some work remains to be done to specify the consequences of the organization of social life when these facilities are utilized. To quote only one example, we find that very real efforts have been made to study the assistance to be given to young people to enable them to form groups and to expand their cultural activities. But who are these young people? How do they tend to form groups spontaneously? How do their needs vary according to their social class? What do they think about life, and what do they hope to get out of it? We know that hwen all is said and done we are very badly informed on these different points. The studies that are at present being made by one of the researchers of the team, Mr. Jenny, on these matters will, we hope, soon provide us with food for thought. It would be a pity if the facilities provided for young people were merely a projection of the idea that the older generations have of the youth of today whilst it would be possible to found these facilities on a very real contribution from young people themselves.

c. *Arrangements for the supervision and education of children*

If facilities for young people are important, those relating to the supervision and education of children below the age of 14 are even more so. In all the housing estates, in all the groups of dwellings in which we made investigations the same problem was raised by most families. If unobstrusive supervision and if educational care, which should lead to the creation of specialist posts for adequately trained staff, are not taken into consideration, veritable catastrophes threaten to occur. The presence of a single child who misbehaves may under such conditions result in the misbehaviour of many others. The result is systematic distrust on the part of families that cannot be overcome as long as educationalists will not give them the necessary guarantees.

Conversely, if supervision and education are sufficiently well conceived, we believe that the children will be able to benefit very widely from the easier contacts which establish themselves in the groups of dwellings and that their development, both emotional and social, will be better than if they were isolated.

3. Some trends

Other essentials could certainly be determined. Meanwhile, we may point to a number of trends which could make it possible progressively to specify measures as important as the preceding ones.

a. *Liberation from the neighbourhood*

The possibility of establishing social relations with neighbours is a considerable advantage provided that to freest possible choice of these relations can be made. It must be said that so far, in the investigations into groups of dwellings, the only solution that has appeared to us to give satisfaction to the residents of communal housing projects was the interior street as conceived by for instance Le Corbusier.

The possibility of having the front-doors of 50 dwellings open on the same street automatically eliminates quarrels between residents living on the same landing, whilst at the same time rendering possible elective relations between quite a large group of neighbours.

But these neighbourhood problems require a much deeper study. We started to do this in our last investigation. We are re-encountering many problems raised by research workers in other countries. It would seem that the layout of flats inside blocks should really be influenced by the results of this work in progress.

b. *Housing and family budget*

From quite a different point of view housing programmes ought to make allowance for the possibilities of families and to define the assistance that the State must give to households in social classes which cannot entirely meet the cost of accomodation. We thus return to the study of thresholds in connection with another subject. If we analyse family budgets and define with close precision the various part of the item housing, we find that below a certain income threshold the families cannot devote a sufficient part of that income to housing. The system of housing allocation practise in France can only be developed. Otherwise the dwellings which in principle are built for less well-off families will be occupied by families of other income levels.

With reference to this, however, all the remarks made at the end of investigations seem to have been studied sufficiently by the authorities, since steps have recently been taken to exclude certain income groups from housing built with the aid of State grants. But continuation of the studies for estimating needs and the corresponding assistance is difficult, for work on family budgets and consumption units have to start again at the beginning as far as certain aspects are concerned. We have already provisionally determined a series of thresholds, but it would be necessary to resume this research using new scales of consumption units, since those at present in use (the Oxford scale and others) no longer appear to be valid.

c. *Housing, food and social life*

In various investigations we have been led to study the part played by food in the social life of the family within the home. We have stressed the fact that in a country such as France working-class families in particular found in the meal the essential moment of the family's social life. The place of the meal and the framework within which it is eaten are therefore of fundamental importance. In recent years, investigations have shown that a kitchen forming an integral part of the living-room was turned down by the very great majority of families, who often did not hesitate to build a partition to make for themselves a kitchen in which they took their daily meals. If the kitchen is separate it is possible to envisage it as having a very limited floor-space (kitchenette) by providing for the meals to be eaten in the living-room. But this solution is only possible in certain material conditions above a certain income threshold and in terms of certain cultural trends. Recently proposals have been made for providing a kitchen with a dining recess. This measure certainly corresponded to a psycho-sociological need. But when we consider the transformation of family life in a perspective of rapid social evolution, we think that it is necessary when making plans of this kind, at the same time to facilitate the change from eating in the kitchen to eating in the livingroom. The enlarged kitchen would therefore have to be so close to the living-room that changing from the one to the other for meals would not mean too much of an effort.

When studying these details from this point of view, we share the preoccupations of certain architects whose role we have noted to be of anticipating requirements. For there is an educative aspect of internal arrangement which must remain of prime importance. But we urge that education be based on observations of family life in such a way that these families have a greater awareness of their own aspirations and that they are given means of satisfying these aspirations.

4. Wider problems

These few examples – unfortunately too few, and described too briefly – will perhaps illustrate more clearly the necessity for a general stock-taking of requirements. The work which we have started to do in this direction in the course of investigations should be compared with similar work in other regions or in other countries, so as to make it possible to spotlight the needs common to various societies and the special needs corresponding to certain cultural trends.

The satisfaction of these needs may lead to functions being determined in a more precise manner. We would again stress here the value of general studies, not only from the psychological and sociological angle, but also on the basis of historical data and ethnology. The points of similarity which we have recently found in the history of functionalism since the 17th century, the study of functions in various civilizations and the study of functions in old and new dwellings in France gives us a greater awareness of the underlying and often badly expressed hypotheses which form a guidance in the conceiving of plans. The notions of needs, of functions and of structures require to be discussed. The exchange of ideas which we have had with a whole group of architects allows us to see a little more clearly into this field.

The investigations which we have recently conducted in the form of interviews with France's leading architects could be extended to other countries to bring about a better understanding of the various points of view and to bring to the fore the definitions on which it would be possible to reach agreement.

Conclusion

At the end of this report we return to the problem posed at the beginning. On the one hand it is possible to lay down the fundamental needs and the aspirations of the population with which the architects, engineers and town-planners must comply, and on the other hand the major obstacles are being defined with increasing clarity. The fundamental question that continues to be raised is that of the freedom of the family and the individual in social life. Housing can play a vital part in this field.

We have spoken elsewhere of liberation rather than of freedom. For the very definition of freedom could provoke long discussions and on occasion lead to a greater lack of understanding instead of to possibilities of coming closer together. On the other hand the idea of a progressive liberation of man from the shackels that impede him in social life may be a very certain guide for town-planners wishing to help make humanity happier. The point at issue is therefore to free man from his fetters rather than to impose on him the idea of liberty which may be peculiar to one civilization or another, to one religion or another, to one ideology or another.

We have stressed the necessity of working in this way and the need for extensive research to obtain the broad picture rather than special local applications. We believe that basic research, detached from any obligations or contracts, is the only possibility of arriving at this broad picture.

Finally, we should like to conclude by underlining the necessity of defining the moral conditions in which this research can take place and by returning to the problems of ethics which we posed earlier. A code of ethics must be drawn up for town-planners and the representatives of the social sciences. This would be one of the tasks to be solved in collaboration by teams consisting of both researchers and technicians working together to draw up plans.

The Movement of Culture and People on the Social Ladder

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THE transfer of cultural goods along the social ladder has since long drawn the attention of sociologists. It is quite normal that cultural elements belonging to the habitus of the upper layers of the social hierarchy find their way downwards to other strata. The well-known dutch historian Huizinga in his study on the Middle Ages gives some striking examples of this shift down the social ladder. I mention only one: "From the pomp of funeral services after the death of a monarch the bourgeois hearse is a cast-off".[1] It is easy to enumerate other examples in the field of clothing and furniture. Ross[2] is very pertinent in his statement that every class imitates the class just one step higher. He refers to billiard-tables and bath-rooms. Very convincing also is the way down of all sorts of sports. Not only soccer and other games went from town to countryside, they also sunk from the elites to the lower strata.[3] H. Naumann[4] coined the term "Gesunkenes Kulturgut" (sunk cultural element) and we may say that a list of elements that went down in the history of mankind would be endless: from hats to authority over children, from family-size to television-sets, from beliefs to bedsteads.

In this process of transfer several points may be high-lighted. In principle the same phenomena are manifesting themselves as in the case of the transfer from generation to generation and in that from town to countryside.[5] We may ask why the lower strata desire to imitate the higher ones and why some elements are transferred easier than others. Is there only a one way traffic or is it possible that some cultural traits climb from the bottom to the top? Important is also the question whether the reception of material goods and of habits is realized in such a way that the harmony in the pattern of culture is not disturbed.

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[1] J. Huizinga, Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen (Fall-season of the Middle Ages) 5th ed. 1941, p. 65–66. Several other quotations are possible (pp. 56, 59, 70, 371).

[2] E. A. Ross, Foundations of sociology, New York, 1905, p. 33.

[3] C. G. M. Miermans, Voetbal in Nederland, (Soccer in the Netherlands), Assen, Neth. 1955

[4] H. Naumann, Deutsche Volkskunde (German folklore), 1921. See also Sj. Groenman, Staphorst, Meppel, Neth. 1947 p. 203.

[5] Cf. Sj. Groenman, The transfer from town to country, in: Studies in education and culture, Diamond Jubilee Celebration in honour of Shri D. C. Pavate, november 1959, Hosali Press, Bangalore, India. And: Sj. Groenman, External and internal causality in cultural change, Int. Journal of Comp. Sociology, Vol. I march 1960, no. 1. p. 103 seq.

To begin with the last point: the acceptance of cultural goods not seldom requires a change of mind, new attitudes and new behavior. We know that the "nouveau riche", the new rich, is able to buy many things he wants but that it takes time to absorb the style of the upper strata. This is the problem that puzzled Bernard Shaw in his Pygmalion. In the musical "My fair Lady" based on Pygmalion prof. Higgins says: "I'll make a duchess of this draggle-tailed guttersnipe"... "Take all her clothes off and burn them" and indeed he succeeds to make a lady in speech and manners of the poor flower-girl Eliza. But taken by him to the Ascot races she came out of character beginning to cheer her horse. At that very moment she demonstrates the disharmony in her pattern of culture. The flower-girl suddenly dominates the duchess. It is not enough to be able to pronounce correctly: "The rain in Spain stays mainly in the plain", although exactly to learn the pronunciation of words as is the practice among higher social circles is very difficult indeed.

The example just given scientifically is not so fair as the lady is. We were dealing with the transfer of cultural goods from the upper to the lower strata. In the example however a young girl out of the lowest layer is raised to the culture of the beau monde. It is not the culture that goes down but the girl that goes up. We might suppose that the effect is just the same. There is a difference however. The place where the assimilation process is going on is not the same and this fact is important for its course and its results. As a rule there are more people climbing than descending in society. Combining this statement with the other one that the transfer of cultural goods downwards is quite normal, the outcome is an exchange of people against cultural goods. The parallel with the exchange between town and countryside is striking: the town delivers goods for the surrounding regions and receives people pulled by its attraction and pushed by the economic and social shortcomings of the rural districts. In this case too it is not indifferent for the elements involved in the assimilation process and for its results where this process takes place. When cultural elements are transferred, the people remaining where they are, in social position or place of residence, in principle the structure of the cultural pattern of the receivers will not change so fast as in the case of people on the move to another social environment. When remaining where they are people are not confronted with a complex of cultural elements they are not acquainted with. They have a hold in the social surroundings of their own, they may be selective in the acceptance of the goods offered to them. They may be eager to imitate in some respects people belonging to a circle considered as higher, but there is no necessity to adjust to the challenge of an entire pattern of culture. Eagerness to imitate does not mean desire to conform. The chance of maladjustment seems smaller. What is happening is the absorption of elements in an existing cultural pattern with the effect may be in the end that this pattern will change radically, but there is no reason to suppose that this process will be very fast. Anyhow the change will be faster when people move upwards on the social ladder. Now they meet a complex pattern of culture and social control will urge them to conformity. Not seldom the climbers are anxious to imitate the people of the social layer they have reached. They may go sofar to belie their origin. Their children will be alienated from the parents' descent. This phenomenon is parallelled to the attitude of second generation immigrants. The willingness to change radically speeds up the acceptance of new cultural traits but at the same time the chance of maladjustments is greater. Discrepancies are obvious. Here the flower-girl of Shaw comes into the picture.

Prestige of cultural patterns plays an important role. The fact that we speak of "upper" and "lower" classes is characteristic. In the spatial sector we may say that the town is "upper" and the countryside "lower". Even in a small country like the Netherlands there is sort of a hierarchy of provinces and it gives one more prestige to have his home and work in the metropolitan areas of the Western part of the country. The same holds true for economically less developed countries where intellectuals are objecting to put their capacities for the benefit of backward districts.

In the process of exchange of goods for people along the social ladder numbers are very effective for the ultimate result. When goods are going "down" they meet the way of life of big numbers of people that do not form "groups" in the sociological sense of the word, but that show at least some coherence by means of the same referential traits. This may or may not be promotive of an easy acceptance. Both is possible. New elements may be rejected exactly because people feel strong as an effect of their numbers. Climbing on the social ladder is an individual act however. Unlike what we see in the spatial mobility, in migration, the vertical social mobility is not performed in groups and there are no organisations promoting upward mobility. This means that the climbers individually are confronted with the culture of a higher class. This class may be rather vague and not well structured but it has at least a set of values more or less accepted by the people to be considered to belong to this class. Taken into account the willingness of the climbers to assimilate we may say that the individual act of ascending is favourable for a rapid assimilation. He is like an individual immigrant in a receiving country. At the moment however that climbing in the social scale becomes a large scale movement. Things are changing. It becomes difficult to impress a pattern of culture on great numbers of new-comers. Though principally strangers to each other or isolated individuals they will support each other by direct and indirect contacts and will make a stand to the social control of the strange surroundings. Coming high with all their cultural bagage they start an infiltration process of cultural traits. The original population of the social layer is brought into a position of defence. At this point we may add that vertical social mobility and spatial mobility are closely linked to each other. People climbing on the social ladder move to another quarter. Doing that in big numbers they endanger the position of its first inhabitants. Not able to assimilate lots of new-comers these fly elsewhere. Of course on the occupational ladder there is no free flying. There is merely a possibility to create some social islands where the entrance is carefully watched over. The large scale ascent generally however will result in an obscure social hierarchy, wherein the relationship between occupation and social prestige is disconnected.

But not the changes in the social stratification are interesting to us here. It is the ascent of cultural traits that matters. This ascent is made possible by the large scale move of people upwards. The upward move of culture seems to need the support of the climbing bearers of this culture. This is exactly what is happening now in Western Europe in an age of growing prosperity. Of course, the whole mechanism of socialization (education, social control) is active to counteract the climbing of the culture of the lower social strata but it does not seem effective enough to prevent f.i., changes in speech-accent or in style of tourism.

The climbing of cultural traits is possible also in another way. I will give the details before making some comments. The dutch sociologist H. Hoetink[1] in his study on the pattern of the old social situation of the isle of Curaçao in the Caribbean makes mention of influences out of the negroid lower strata on the white rulers. In colonial times there was a small (Protestant) elite of European origin, later on also a jewish colony, but the majority of the population belonged to the black slaves and manumitted persons, of different colour shades. Culturally the white stratum was isolated. They were confronted with a coloured majority and notwithstanding the rigid colour bar there were between the two sections of the population several relationships. Coloured concubines and nurse-maids functioned as conductors for influences going upwards. Especially the nurse-maid, the "jaja", had a key-position in the relations between the upper and the lower strata. More than *Herskovits* in his study on Trinidad[2] Hoetink has gathered data of negroid origin accepted by the white population: dancing, music, folkways in the magico-religious field after the birth of a child, the use of magic medicaments, the way of walking, gesticulations and last but not least the indigeneous language, the Papiamentu. The black group offered sometimes strong resistance against these influences. Particularly the planter women were anxious to prevent the acceptance by their children of speech and gestures of the nurse-girls. Nevertheless the Papiamentu became a lingua franca for the different sections of the population and the fact that the Protestant elite and the jewish upper class used this language in their relationships took away from the Papiamentu the hall-mark of inferiority.

That the white upper class in the process of acculturation also was a receiver is quite understandable. Numbers are of outstanding importance in this process once more. In defending its isolated position the elite could not prevent infiltration. The colonial situation was favourable for the position of the "jaja" and also for tolerated sexual relations between white planters and black mistresses. These relations not seldom were long-lived and comparable to the folk marriage wide-spread in South-America (keeper union, compañá). The reception of cultural traits by the elite not only included material goods whereof Hoetink makes mention, but moreover magic practices and personal characteristics. As a rule elements out of the mental sphere are not borrowed very easily. Here the intense and lasting contact between the "jaja" and the upgrowing child is the explanation. The "jaja" accompanied the children, especially the girls, from the cradle to the first years of marriage. She was a vade-mecum in lots of situations, more than the mother was.

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[1] H. Hoetink, Het patroon van de oude Curaçaose samenleving, (The pattern of the old Curaçao society). Assen, Neth., 1958, on several places.

[2] M. Herskovits, Trinidad village, New York, 1947.

One might say that the social relations in the colonial area are exceptional. This of course is only partly true. The situation where a quantitative majority of lower classes is placed opposite a quantitative minority of upper classes is anyhow quite normal and this constellation must be favourable for the ascending of cultural elements. At the moment that the majority comes to emancipation the chances of transfer upwards are growing. Numbers and consciousness of the importance of the own cultural inheritance counteract the prestige of the minority's culture. In Flanders during a couple of centuries the upper class was french speaking, the mass of the population however speaking flemish, a variation of dutch. With the emancipation of the flemish part of the Belgian people, forced by the organized flemish movement, the native language now streamlined from flemish to "civilized" dutch came to climb on the social ladder. Of course this process was promoted by the presence of the official dutch language in the neighbouring Netherlands.

The climbing of native languages however is a widespread phenomenon. Latin as church-language in the course of times lost continually ground. In our age of mass-communication we must take full account of the chance that the language of the upper classes will be altered by the everlasting influence of radio and television, media penetrating in the homes of all social classes. Perhaps the programme announcers are screened for their language, but lots of other speakers with different accents now have entrance to the interior of the family and their audience is numerous.

I have elaborated a bit the phenomenon of the climbing of cultural traits because the movement the other way around is stressed so often and taken for normal. There is no reason to deny this normality. In a society however where the social hierarchy is rigid though not petrified and where the prestige of the upper classes is still untouched, the transfer of culture downwards on the social ladder is more normal than in a democratized mass society where achievement is gaining ground against ascription, where social mobility is facilitated and where the media of mass-communication are effective. The simple exchange of people for goods between the classes does not cover perfectly the social reality. The process of infiltration of goods into the upper strata has begun.

Potential Uses of the Church-Sect Typology in Comparative Religious Research

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In the half century since Ernst Troeltsch published *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*[1] his classification of religious organizations into churches and sects, which he developed under the influence of Max Weber, has been widely applied in sociological studies of Christianity. This paper suggests that the church-sect typology, with appropriate adjustments to allow for various features and cultural circumstances which differ from those in Christianity, may be used in the analysis of other religions.

One of the goals of any science is to make generalizations that apply to a broad range of subject matter. Sociology is no exception; in the sociology of religion it is desirable that we develop principles of religious structures and functions that apply not only to one or a few religious groups and phenomena but to a wide range of man's religious activities and organizations. The church-sect typology bears promise of such extensive applicability to the religions of man. Undoubtedly it will not apply to all categories of religion, but perhaps all modern organized religious behaviour, since it demands social structure, can be interpreted through the insights provided by it.

Cross-cultural research is desirable to test the breadth of applicability of Troeltsch's typology. Such study can be expected to reveal certain features common to all religious institutions. It will increase our understanding of the present status and relationships of religious bodies and will help us predict their future by identifying their positions on the continuum of change which has been developed on the basis of Troeltsch's typology. It will clarify the connections between organized religion and the rest of society as well as the social impact and implications of varying types of religious doctrine and organization. With such knowledge appeals to various groups both in the realm of religious affairs and in efforts to carry out various types of changes in man's conventional social practices can be adapted to promote the goals of religious leaders, government officials, welfare workers, and other "social engineers."

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[1] *Die Soziallehren der christlichen Kirchen und Gruppen*, Tübingen, 1911. Summaries of the types of religious orientations appear in the English edition translated by Olive Wyon (London, George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1931, 2 vols.) on pages 328–343, 691–703, and 993–1013. Subsequent references to Troeltsch in this paper are based primarily upon this source.

For instance, the agricultural expert attempting to improve farming practices and thus to increase food supply must approach the members of a sect-like group differently from those of church-like religious organizations in order to complete his mission successfully.

Research on church-sect distinction can be the basis for increased understanding of controversies between various religious groups. It can increase awareness by religious leaders and others that such conflicts are often based upon latent social, economic, and political factors and cannot be understood apart from recognizing their role in the struggle. Above all, the findings from relevant research to date seem to imply that continual adaptation is absolutely essential for the survival of any religious group in the modern, rapidly changing world. The group that insists on retaining all details of ancient patterns of religious worship, traditional relationships to the government and other social institutions, authoritarian patterns of personal morality, etc. without modification to fit new circumstances eventually dies and is replaced by an organization with an orientation that differs greatly in external appearance. The surviving adaptable body may continue, however, to convey all of the *basic* principles and spiritual values of the old religion within its greatly modified social structure.

This paper briefly summarizes the nature of Troeltsch's church-sect typology, the continuum of change derived from it, and criticisms of these in studies of Christianity. Such past work points to the potential utility of church-sect analysis in sociological studies of other religions and suggests limitations which must be allowed for in applications of the typology in any social setting.

Troeltsch's Church-Sect Typology

The church-type of Christian religious organization is an ecclesiastical system which includes all persons in the society. It is generally conservative, accepting the secular social order. Desiring to dominate all social life, it uses the ruling classes to accomplish its goals. The individual comes into it by birth into society and the symbolic ritual of infant baptism. It believes itself to be the sole depository of grace. Its benefits of salvation through Christ are imparted to individuals through objective action of the clergy who administer its sacraments and proclaim the Word of God, the Bible.

The sect, on the contrary, renounces the idea of dominating the world. It attempts through various techniques to avoid secular society. Its small membership is an exclusive society of persons united by deep personal conviction who are recruited chiefly from the lower classes and other elements which oppose the established government and social institutions. These members join voluntarily on the basis of subjective religious experiences. Emphasis is upon direct access of the individual to God; hence lay leadership, in contrast to the church's priesthood, is characteristic of the sect.

A third type of religious orientation, mysticism, is often fused with the sect or submerged within the church. Its emphasis is upon a direct, inward, and present religious experience. If organized at all, its structure prevails only as a loose and provisional concession to human frailty and consists primarily of a parallelism of spontaneous religious personalities. Emphasizing the "Invisible Church," its groups are intimate circles for edification which often have characteristics close to those of the sect or may even by slight modifications develop into one. More often mysticism becomes an independent religious philosophy, a radical individualism which is formless and outside of recognized historical developments of organized religion. Both for this reason and the fact of its frequent envelopment in the other two types, it is typically omitted from sociological analyses of religious bodies. In general, however, it may be viewed as a cult within the church; as such it often precedes the sect in the process of historical development.

In American studies Troeltsch's typology has been developed into a research instrument through considering the church and sect as opposite ends of a continuum. Several sociologists have inserted additional sub-categories on the continuum of types of religious organizations as they adapted it to descriptions of the peculiar characteristics of American religious bodies, but these may be best understood as involving basically only adaptations rather than radical changes of the church- and sect- types. Operational definitions of the concepts have been developed to make them more useful tools in research.[1] It has been found that local branches of the major religious bodies do not always fall into the same position on the church-sect continuum. Thus a Baptist "church" may be a sect-like body in one community while its equivalent in an adjacent city may be unambiguously a denominational institution. (A denomination is an organization with more church-like than sect-like characteristics. It is as near to being a church as is possible in a nation that emphasizes religious pluralism and adheres to a policy of separation of church and state.)

Sect to Church Mobility in Christendom

Much evidence supports the hypothesis that a new religious body typically emerges as an amorphous cult which develops into a sect and then, if it survives, gradually changes its characteristics to become a denomination which, in turn, becomes the source of new sects. Although sect, church, and mystical elements usually coexist in any religion, its history, as well as that of every local branch within it, may pass through the same typical cycle.

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[1] One of the most concise statements of their contrasting features in American society appears in Liston Pope, *Millhands and Preachers*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1942, pp. 122–124. A 24-item scale to define contrasting church and sect attitudes of persons was constructed by Russell R. Dynes ("Church-Sect Typology and Socio-Economic Status," *American Sociological Review*, 20:555–560, Oct. 1955).
Relevant studies are summarized in my forthcoming sociology of American religion, *The Church as a Social Institution*, to be published by Prentice-Hall, Inc., in 1962.

Christianity began as a minor sect among the Jews in Asia Minor. It competed with Judaism and the mythological, mystical, and pagan religions which dominated the Roman Empire. Within it various subgroups emerged and struggled for power. Liberals led by the Apostle Paul clashed with the Judaizers, later called Ebionites, and eventually dominated the new religion. By the victory of Emperor Constantine in 323 A.D., Christianity was clearly in the denominational stage of its movement on the church-sect continuum, and by 383 A.D. when Christianity was officially declared to be the imperial state religion it was a church.

At various times, most notably during the Protestant Reformation, several new sects split off the Christian churches. These developed until many themselves became established state churches. In the New World (America) most of the older Christian sects have moved as far toward the church-type as possible within the framework of their culture and now are denominations. Out of denominations, in turn, discontented minorities have formed numerous sectarian bodies, some of which have themselves reached the status of denominations and become the mothers of successive splinter groups.

The natural history of religious bodies is linked closely with the social conditions of their cultural milieu and with the adaptations necessary in order to survive. The historical sequence seems to follow a pattern of successive stages of development, beginning with that of incipient organization when dissatisfaction within an existing religious body (or bodies) leads to the establishment of a new cult or sect. This is followed by a period of formal organization and later one of maximum efficiency. If constant and appropriate adaptations to new circumstances are not made in the modern world, the cumbersome weight of an overly bureaucratized structure is likely to lead to a stage of disintegration and ultimately to the "death" of the institution. But by these latter stages, self-corrective processes are likely to occur within it; reforms may return a degree of bureaucratic efficiency, or else the persons under its domination may shift their allegiance to new splinter groups emerging out of the denomination or church. New sects then grow, only to repeat a similar process.[1] This cycle of natural history, presented here in extremely abbreviated form, very likely applies to all religious institutions and not merely to those of Christianity.

Criticisms of Church-Sect Analysis

Troeltsch's church-sect typology, its derivatives growing out of its application in specific Western studies, and research based upon it have been sharply criticized. The major types of criticism are summarized in this section. Evaluation accompanying each indicates that critics have not destroyed the validity of church-sect analysis of Christian religious institutions. Such analysis is indicative of problems that may be faced in cross-cultural religious research, for many of the criticisms emerge from the fact that Troeltsch's typology was

[1] For further detail see my forthcoming book.

based directly upon European political, economic, and social conditions which were different from those in America where most of the research using it has been done. When the typology is adapted for use in the study of oriental and other non-Christian religious institutions and for comparing them with Christian ones, similar problems are likely to plague the scholar and must be anticipated by him. Eight major types of criticisms follow.

1. No American religious bodies are pure churches. In the American environment all are sects in the sense that none is an established or state church. Even the Roman Catholic Church takes on many characteristics of a denomination in America and is not purely an ecclesia or church. Schneider therefore suggests that a more meaningful classification of American religious groups is the distinction between religious bodies and religious movements. *Religious bodies* or denominations are stable institutions with a cherished heritage, a government which gives organized expression to its faith, and a membership whose duties and values are generally recognized in society. *Religious movements* usually must culminate in bodies in order to survive. Religious bodies sometimes disappear while others are coming into existence as the end result of religious movements. Among the more familiar religious movements of the twentieth century are fundamentalism, the Oxford Group Movement (MRA), New Thought, Jehovah's Witnesses, Youth For Christ, and the Inter-Varsity Fellowship.[1]

Christianity in America is distinct from previous forms especially because of its emphasis upon the "free church" idea. The denomination, the predominant form of religious body, is unlike the traditional forms of the church, for it has no official connection with civil power, although it usually is legally represented by a civil corporation in the name of which property is held and necessary mundane business is transacted. At the same time, the denomination is not a sect in the traditional sense, for there is no established church against which to protest and dissent. It is instead a voluntary association of like-minded individuals, a "community of believers," in its idealized form. It grew out of a merger of the traditional patterns of church and sect as well as of the "right" and "left" as known in European theology and became an organization that combined features of both as well as features that emerged from the immediate situation.[2]

Essentially this criticism focuses upon one of the major criteria used to distinguish sects from churches, the voluntary versus birth membership. Even though that criterion cannot be applied directly in America in its purest form, adaptations of the typology are easily made to fit the unique features of American culture.

2. Church and sect are value-laden terms. By long useage the term "church" has been one of approbation while "sect" implies derogation because the latter

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[1] Herbert W. Schneider, *Religion in Twentieth Century America*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1952, pp. 21–24.

[2] Sidney E. Mead, "From Coercion to Persuasion: Another Look at the Rise of Religious Liberty and the Emergence of Denominationalism," *Church History*, 25:317–337, Dec. 1956.

originally referred to groups which separated themselves from the official church. In America there is neither, but only a new form, the denomination; emerging in the place of church and sect are three large families of religion, the Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish; these ought to be stressed instead of church and sect.[1]

In reply to this criticism the sociologist simply states that the church-sect typology is an analytical tool used in his research and not a name-calling device.

3. The typology is inconsistent with theological definitions of the church. It is criticized by theologians who wish to retain the use of the term "church" solely for groups that fit what they believe to be the Biblical definition of that term. From this perspective, the early Christian church, classified sociologically as a sect, is really church and not sect, and most of the free-church and dissenting religious bodies of contemporary Europe which are sects according to the typology are really churches because they recognize Jesus Christ as Savior and Lord, hold steadfastly to the promise of His return, and fashion a common life under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. Sectarianism, from the theological viewpoint, would involve making some teaching, rule, or personality other than Christ central. Thus Jehovah's Witnesses are a sect, for they make secondary teachings central. For sects to become churches is a "theological absurdity," and yet this possibility is a major consequence of the acceptance of Troeltsch's typology.[2]

This type of criticism reflects variations in terminology between the various fields of man's knowledge. Just as the term "culture" denotes something different in sociology and anthropology from what it does in biology or the fine arts, so the connotations of the terms "church" and "sect" vary considerably from one universe of discourse to another. One must bear in mind the distinctions between theological and sociological usages of these and many other terms. Furthermore, Troeltsch himself was primarily a theologian. He anticipated this type of criticism when he wrote the following statement:[3]

> Very often in the so-called "sects" it is precisely the essential elements of the Gospel which are fully expressed; ... the sects ... often represent in a very direct and characteristic way the essential fundamental ideas of Christianity; to a very great extent they are a most important factor in the study of the development of the sociological consequences of Christian thought.

4. Changes of religious bodies are not consistently from sect to church.

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[1] Sidney E. Mead, "Denominationalism: The Shape of Protestantism in America," *Church History*, 23:291–320, Dec. 1954. Cf. J. L. Neve, *Churches and Sects of Christendom*, Blair, Nebraska, Lutheran Publishing House, rev. ed., 1952, pp. 29–35.

[2] Franklin H. Littell, "Church and Sect (with Special Reference to Germany)," *Ecumenical Review*, 6:262–276, April 1954. Littell's definition of "church" in the light of the experience of Germany in the post-war world seems to depend chiefly upon a single criterion: whether or not the religious group cooperates in the Ecumenical Movement. If it does, it is a church; if not, it is a sect. From this viewpoint the Roman Catholic Church must be viewed as a sect, for it refuses to recognize and cooperate with other religious bedies.

[3] Ernst Troeltsch, *op. cit.*, p. 334.

Some have discontinued their movement from sect toward church before reaching the end of the continuum. American religious organization appears to have halted at the denominational point in the cycle of change on the continuum. The permeation of all phases of life by the ideals of religion which is characteristic of sectarian society or the domination of all by religion through a church has been replaced by a more secularized society in which religious groups are but one part of organized social life. Social conditions outside of organized religion are becoming more important and perhaps even the dominant determinants of moral standards and individuals' personal philosophies.[1]

The immigrant churches brought to America were influenced in their polity, lay representation, adoption of voluntary membership, common abstention from interference with the processes of civil government, and the like to establish gradually a new common form of church life which is remarkably dissimilar from the parent churches in Europe.[2] Some of them have moved from the church end toward the sect end of the continuum in their gradual transformation into denominations.

Yet to say that churches brought to the United States have become sects and that sects have become like churches is an over-simplification. Rather, churches transplanted to America *tend* to become sects, and sects *tend* to become churches. When the sect does not have a powerful ecclesiastical organization against which to protest, its distinctive sectarian characteristics often are dissipated, and it tends to become much more inclusive in its membership than the typical sects of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The hostility of sects toward established liturgy, theology, and hierarchical authority has contributed much to American religion, but it also has helped secularism to mature as the sacramental means of grace are vitiated or destroyed, as the theological framework of the faith is weakened, and as the polity of the church which is the skeleton of its organizational life is undermined. As the churches in America become less inclusive and the sects less exclusive, a basis for gradual rapprochement between the religious bodies is provided which may lead to a high degree of working unity in the near future.[3]

In this tendency of churches and sects to grow toward one another into the denomination, each type has learned and borrowed from the other. Churches have borrowed the principle of lay leadership and have developed self-reliance and independence in relationship to the state, adopting the sectarian principle of a free church in a free society. Many sects have learned that they cannot defeat the world in an absolute sense and hence must adjust to it.

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[1] Robert L. Sutherland, Julian L. Woodward, and Milton A. Maxwell, *Introductory Sociology*, Chicago, J. B. Lippincott Co., 4th ed., 1952, pp. 404–408.

[2] H. Richard Niebuhr, *The Social Sources of Denominationalism*, Hamden, Conn., Shoe String Press, 1954, pp. 211–213 (original publisher, Henry Holt and Co., 1929). See also Earl D. C. Brewer, "Sect and Church in Methodism," *Social Forces*, 30:400–408, May 1952, which links basic changes in American society with the shifting of religious bodies on the church-sect continuum.

[3] Reinhold Niebuhr, "The Ecumenical Issue in the United States," *Theology Today*, 2:525–536, Jan. 1946.

Sects that became deluded into believing that a final victory had been won over the world and that it was Christian lost their tension with the world and found themselves at home in it. Liberalized sectarian Christianity was faced with the adoption of one of two alternatives: either preserve the faith that the preaching of the ideal of love would overcome the sins of the world (the "social gospel") or become politically realistic and seek for a political program to implement the ideals of justice. As both were adopted, Christianity was secularized and the world was no longer judged and found wanting by it. Sects are the dominant force in American Protestantism; while the church "lives in conscious compromise with the world," the "vitiated sect" lives in unconscious compromise with it. Premature defeatism may result from the former, but sentimentality and self-deception grow out of the latter.[1]

The lack of a universally consistent shifting from sect toward church on the church-sect continuum invalidates certain hypotheses based upon the typology, but it does not negate the usefulness of the typology itself.

5. The types are not rigidly defined, and details in distinctions between them are not accurate. There is no assurance that two researchers working independently would consistently classify the same religious bodies in the same way. Pietism, for instance, may be found within churches as well as within sects. Hence Pietism may be recognized as a sect-type development within the church. Thus groups like the Anabaptists, which Troeltsch identified with the sects, may continue to cherish their old heritage and remain pietistic even after becoming settled and changing into what otherwise would be considered a church.[2]

This type of criticism emphasizes the need for work on operational definitions based upon valid and reliable research instruments as well as the need to recognize how sect and church type characteristics within specific religious bodies overlap because the types are not discrete; they are "pure" only in an abstract, logical sense.

6. Applications of Troeltsch's typology omit his minor categories. His third type, the mystic or spiritualizer, has made significant inroads into twentieth century Protestantism. The dominance of the allegorizing or spiritualizing tendency in Germany, according to Littell, ended in a "bastardization of the faith," while in America it has resulted in the confusion of the claims of Christ with the American Way of Life or democratic society. Theology has emphasized a "developing religion" as values from contemporary culture and intellectual life are incorporated into it. Rationalism in which knowledge of God is made the key to the Gospel instead of the Gospel the key to the knowledge of God is the end result of this trend. An extravagant idea of personal liberty tends to

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[1] Reinhold Niebuhr, "Sects and Churches," *Christian Century*, 52:885–887, July 3, 1935.

[2] Robert Friedmann, "Conception of the Anabaptists," *Church History*, 9:347–348, Dec. 1940. (Pietism emphasizes the need for emotional, devotional, or spiritual emphasis in faith and worship more than intellectualism.) Friedmann also states that there is a need to consider attitudes toward the Scriptures in studying the historical development of the various religious bodies.

replace the obedience or discipline of faith. Hence it would be more nearly correct to consider the interplay of the second and third types of Troeltsch's classification (sects and spiritualizers) as the most important type of tension in contemporary Christianity than to say that the tension is primarily one between churches and sects.[1]

Certain phases of contemporary neo-orthodox theology are perhaps the chief object of this criticism. As Troeltsch indicated, mystical tendencies indeed are found within both churches and sects as well as outside of them.

Emphasis in American research upon the hypothesis that sects tend to develop into churches grows out of interest in the social ethic of Christian groups and hence of their attitudes toward the secular culture. In order to survive sects had to come to some type of adjustment or reconciliation with the world. This generally occurred when the originally rigid line between the saved and the worldly was relaxed. Rigorous membership requirements were let down with the maturation of the second generation; accommodation to standards of the larger society was made, and the strict moral code was relaxed. Many scholars assumed that, once sects had relaxed their opposition to worldliness, they had become churches. Many aspects of Troeltsch's typological distinction were largely ignored, and his "Free Church" concept, which recognized the mixture of church and sect types that Calvinism represented, has been overlooked.[2]

7. Internal roles and attitudes within the religious body have been minimized. The need in analysis of religious organizations to focus upon the internal attitudes of members and the nature of the various roles played within the system has been almost entirely overlooked by those who have comparatively studied sects and churches. In churches the process of justification or salvation is generally through liturgical means; grace is transmitted through the sacraments performed by qualified priests. In the sect the primary emphasis is upon an ethical orientation to justification, although the content of the ethic varies from one sect to another. The ritual systems of the various religious bodies and their implications for the larger structure of religious organization in society needs much study. Out of such analysis it is likely that church and sect will emerge as only two of several types of religious structure. The current rise and growth of Holiness religion in America may represent a reflection of the need of lower class groups for the internalization of a specific type of value orientation, and this religion may be a powerful socializing agent helping lower class groups acquire the values and usages of a society which is dominated by the middle class.[3]

The social psychology of the sectarian personality in contrast to that of the denominational and church member needs further study. One analysis of self-attitudes found that the members of religious groups which were "differentistic" were more likely to make reference to their religious affiliation in answer to the question, "Who am I?," than the members of conventional or majority religious groups. They were also inclined to refer more often to the religious group as a reference group.[1] These findings suggest that the subjectively defined identifications which are internalizations of objective social statuses may be of greater importance to members of sects than to members of other religious bodies. They also indicate that sects perhaps do indeed govern a larger part of the individual members' conduct than churches, as they theoretically are expected to do.

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[1] F. H. Littell, *op. cit.*, and Franklin H. Littell, "Spiritualizers, Anabaptists, and the Church," *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, 29:34–43, Jan. 1955.

[2] Benton Johnson, "A Critical Appraisal of the Church-Sect Typology," *American Sociological Review*, 22:88–92, Feb. 1957. See E. Troeltsch, *op. cit.*, pp. 656–661, 670–673, 689–691, 707–708. Troeltsch places Free Churches near the sect end of the continuum.

[3] B. Johnson, *op. cit.*

Obviously, this criticism simply points to the need for further applications of the typology.

8. Illustrating a theory is not testing it. The conclusions of Troeltsch and of many who have used his typology as a basis for their own interpretations must be regarded as tentative.[2] The opinion even of the expert is not necessarily fact. The relationships between churches and sects and especially the tendency of religious bodies to move from the sect toward the church end of the church-sect continuum may be the result of fitting historical data into a pre-conceived scheme, of illustrating rather than of truly testing scientific hypotheses. The historian must always select the data he records out of vast storehouses of information; the outline into which he fits his data usually determines for him what he includes and what he omits. No serious effort has been made to try to find and to study from the typological viewpoint Christian religious bodies that do not to some extent fit the general pattern set forth in the typology and its derivatives.

Conclusions

The church-sect typology is helpful in many significant areas of research in the sociology of religion. Outstanding among these are the natural history of religious institutions, conflict within and between religious groups, relationships between religious organizations and the rest of society, the influence of religious doctrine upon philosophies of social change and accompanying conflicting policies of social action, and the impact of organized religion on individual personalities and behavior. The criticisms which have been made of it are based upon (1) incomplete understanding of such sociological techniques of research and study as typological ("ideal type") analysis and the concomitant use of continua for the classification of data, (2) misinterpretations of sociological generalizations in an assumption that they must universally and absolutely apply without exceptions instead of within the framework of probability and of general tendencies that the sociologist emphasizes, (3) semantic confusions which overlook variations in the sociological and theological frames of discourse, and (4) the limited extent of research applying the concepts. Obviously these criticisms do not invalidate the church-sect typology; they do not necessitate the rejection of hypotheses which have emerged out of scholarly thought relevant to it. They do indicate, however, the need for continued study and for cautious discernment in our sociological research and reporting.

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[1] Manford H. Kuhn and Thomas S. McPartland, "An Empirical Investigation of Self-Attitudes," *American Sociological Review*, 19:68–76, Feb. 1954. See Russell R. Dynes, "The Consequences of Sectarianism for Social Participation," *Social Forces*, 35:331–334, May 1957.

[2] Cf. Roland H. Bainton, "Ernst Troeltsch – Thirty Years Later," *Theology Today*, 8:70–96, April 1951.

In addition to increased use of the church-sect continuum in studies of the Christian religion, its extension to other religions therefore seems appropriate. Max Weber's studies in the sociology of religion are especially pertinent as a background for this work. A few significant problems for such research are indicated by the following questions.

Do small sects develop on the social-psychological and economic fringes of all established religions in all societies? How often do they originate in mysticism? Do they gradually change their belligerant attitude toward the established social order, grow in size, change in membership composition, and ultimately become dominant "churches" themselves?

Christianity, which emerged as a sect in the eastern Mediterranean area and eventually became a dominant religion with many churches, denominations, and sects, is now competing in many parts of the earth with other established religions through its missionary program. Is it thus again assuming sect-like characteristics on its mission fields as it seeks to win converts? Are similar church and sect characteristics present in Buddhism with its various Hinayana, Mahayana, and Lamaist subdivisions? Does the church-sect typology apply to the divisions between and within the Mutazalite, Sunni, and Shi'ite sects in Islam? Which of the many movements and sects in Hinduism, Jainism, Sikhism, Judaism, Zoroastrianism, and Shintoism are similar to Christian sects and which are like churches? How do the inner movements of change, growth, and diversification within each of the major religions and their branches, as they adapt to changing cultural conditions, affect the social structure and functions of the religious bodies themselves?

Where secular pseudo-religious movements replace established religions, what structural and functional features do they share with churches and sects? How do such movements as Communism, Marxist Socialism, and Materialistic Capitalism compete with religious groups? Can humanistic values flourish without having a truly religious base and thus being like either a church, sect, or mystical fellowship?

Cross-cultural and cross-religious research on these and related topics may bear far more fruit for the religious bodies and also for the work of the United Nations and other international organizations, as well as for technical assistance and development programs and the personal well-being of men as individuals and as members of groups, than at first glance would seem to be the case. Indeed, since religiously-oriented postulates are at the base of all of man's lore and science and since religion to some degree conditions or colors every aspect of life, the church-sect typology and comprehension of all that it implies may be a basic prerequisite for complete knowledge and understanding of human society.

Consumption and Prosperity: Comparative Data from East Africa

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THE acceptance of cultural relativism is a necessary pre-condition for any attempt at a meaningful interpretation of different culture patterns (Benedict, 1932), the understanding of which is based on seeing them in the context of *gestalt* phenomena or cultural wholeness (Ehrenfels, 1960-b: 113 ff.).

The application of this same principle, cultural relativism, to economic concepts becomes necessary, as soon as they are utilized to interpret the contents of cultures, as for instance when consumption is made to be a yard-stick for measuring poverty or prosperity.

The relative usefulness of consumption as a yard-stick for evaluating poverty or prosperity of any particular society is in this paper being illustrated with data from East Africa which have been collected during one year's anthropological field work among matrilineal shifting cultivators on the Makonde Plateau in the Southern Province of Tanganyika (Ehrenfels, 1960-a: XIV, 46 ff.). These studies were persued among the Makonde and Makua, three years after the introduction of a water pumping system through the Government aided Makonde Water Corporation which has accelerated already palpable trends of acculturation (Whiteley, 1951). These started with mission activities, alomst one hundred years earlier and the increasing number of small village shops, mostly owned by Indian and Pakistani but sometimes also Arab shop-keepers, during more than half a century (Large, 1928).

A third and more recently introduced acculturation agency is the Community Development Organisation which the British Government as the U.N. Trusteeship Administrator started and guided through directly employed and indirectly interested administrators.

All three agents: missionaries, Asian *dukas* (small village shops) and Community Development organizations, the latter especially through their Womens Clubs and Domestic Science Courses, combine in propagating a type of all-covering, sewn clothing of cotton or woollen material which has previously not been used.

The introduction of these articles for consumption resembles in many ways the spreading of shirts, European blouses and other sewn clothing articles in

India, especially the South, where such clothing fashions were not traditionally worn before the first world war and, in part, also not much later. Partial nudity, or even a free upper part of the body, is still conceived and described as "savage" or "barbarian" by missionaries, popular newspaper journalists and sometimes even by community development officers in India as well as in Africa (Ehrenfels, 1960-a: 150 ff., 160 ff.).

This attitude no doubt derives from the point of view, taken by the average European educationist in Africa to whom every thing African is *eo ipso* pagan and bad. It has to be abolished, sooner or later, whether it is a *Cha Mlungu*, – a little straw hut, prepared for harvest offerings to the one great God, a youth initiation ritual, connected with instructions about marriage, or a traditional form of family organization.

In taking on this line, African educative efforts, including Community Development, act like a British Council language course in, say Madras or Madrid, which would meticulously avoid reference to books, dramas or poetry, produced anywhere in England. Would we hold much hope for the success of such a course?

African secondary school charts, for instance, depict the "Discovery of Africa" by Portuguese travellers: helmeted warriors and white-robed friars are there seen landing on the scarcely populated shores of this, the "dark continent", – a picture of thought which may seem natural enough for a Mediterranean child to whom his area appears as the natural centre of the world. The same picture, however, is not equally natural to an African child, whose ancestors have, after all, been living on these shores for quite some time, – though not yet in a state of being "discovered" by Europeans.

However, community development officers, African, European or Asian, can hardly be blamed for this attitude. It was not they who created it, long before the mere concept of community development had come to be. But now, that it is there, it could be expected to revise attitudes and value judgments in its spheres. This, however, has scarcely been done in the field of clothing with results which we will be discussing presently.

The eagerness of African women to learn sewing and stitching of elaborate flower designs on table covers, mufflers and other objects which are not generally in daily use among peasants south of the Sahara, meets the opposite trend more than half way. Touching as this enthusiasm may be, it yet speaks of the desire to imitate, rather, than to apply genuine creativeness to the daily tasks of life. The adaption of new techniques and crafts certainly deserves all possible encouragement, if it is somehow connected with necessity and practicability, or reasonably linked to traditional values. Though this is hardly the case here, the craze to imitate could not cause undue alarm if it would be confined to a rather harmless pastime, such as stitching little Rococo flower designs on rarely used pieces of cloth. However, this is not the case.

The interest in sewing and stitching is only part of the more general and also more serious trend among equatorial Africans to wear an ever increasing amount of European clothes in the all-covering style of cold countries which, in these regions, is not only unsuitable but in more than one way definitely harmful. Frequently one sees four and more layers of heavy clothing one upon the other: a woollen sweater, one or two European shirts, an Arab *kanzu* and above all – a third-hand dinner jacket, or anything else that looks "civilized", – not excluding a lady's wintercoat; all assembled on one profusely perspiring male dignitary. When, on the other hand, from May to August the temperature in parts of Africa drops considerably, there are no, or quite insufficient covers as a protection against the sometimes bitter cold at night. Traditionally Africans used to wear reasonably limited bark-cloth, or skin garments, during the hot days and substantial hide – or fur – blankets during cold nights. The desire to appear modern and "civilized", now, reverses these practical arrangements to the disadvantage of health and hygiene: heavy over-clothing during the hot day and no, or quite insufficient covering in the cold night.

Though this is not the place to dwell at length on medical problems, the economic and aesthetic aspect of this dis-culturation in the name of civilization does fall within the purview of community development, generally, and the activities of women's clubs in particular.

On the economic side the situation can be summed up as follows: an average Makonde family-budget indicates a proportion of about five eighth for clothing and only three eighth for all other items of cash expenditure, *including* taxes (cf. tables and explanations).

The data for this calculation have been obtained from an area of the Makonde Plateau where kiosks of the *Makonde Water Corporation* had been opened not long ago and have not yet been generally used; particularly not during the rainy season. None of the respondents, including the local *Jumbe*, with whom data and calculations have been discussed, kept any written records of either income or expense. It should be further pointed out that the estimates of both: cash income and cash expenditure represent an average and that for instance in cashew-nut growing families, or during years of better harvests, cash income may be considerably higher. The proportion of expenditure on clothing will in these cases be still higher, because it is there and then that the more durable and costlier clothes, listed under paras (7) and (8) of the table: "Expenditure on Clothing" will be purchased. They have in this calculation been distributed over a period of ten years, thus reducing their proportional significance.

It should further be stressed that here *cash*-income and *cash*-expenses only are listed. A wooden mortar, for instance, which is either manufactured by the owner, or a neighbour, for remuneration in kind or service, will *not* be an item of this calculation. It must also be remembered that in these parts of Tanganyika neither bark-cloth and hides nor any traditional African ornaments are anymore in use, so that all clothing and jewellery are paid for in cash.

Tables

Yearly cash budget (Makonde)

One East African Shilling ("Shs") is equal to 62 Naye Paise and sub-divided into 100 cents ("c").

I. Cash income

(for products sold)

	Shs. c.		
(1) cassava	38.00		
(2) millets	40.00		
(3) beans	26.00		
(4) simsim seeds	30.00		
(5) ground nuts	32.00		
Total income	166.00	=	166.00

II. Cash expenditure

(a) Expenditure other than clothing

	Shs. c.		
(1) taxes	34.00		
(2) school fees	4.00		
(3) salt, oil, matches	9.00		
(4) water and tobacco	10.00		
(5) stock of agricultural tools	1.50		
(6) stock of kitchen utensils and furniture	3.50		
Total	62.00		
(b) Expenditure on Clothing			
(7) husband's durable stock (estimated: S. 50.00)*	5.00		
(8) wife's durable stock (estimated: S. 36.00)**	3.60		
(9) husband's current expenses @	43.00		
(10) wife's and children's current expenses @@	52.40		
Total	104.00		
Grand total for cash expenditure	166.00	=	166.00

Explanations

Annual expenditure to replace in ten years the following:

	Shs. c
* "husband's durable stock" comprises the following articles:	
one *kanzu* (Arab man's garment), estimated	10.00

one European style second-hand woollen coat	30.00
one pair of woollen pants or flannels	10.00
Total	50.00

** “wife's durable stock” comprises the following articles:

one European tailored woman's gown estimated at (not in general, but increasing use among younger women)	20.00
one or more spare pairs of *kanga* (coloured large scarfs)	16.00
Total	36.00

@ “husband's current expenses” comprises:	Shs. c
two pairs of *kaniki* (rough, black) loin cloth, a S. 7	14.00
three European shirts, a S. 7	21.00
two *shuka* (brightly coloured or white loin cloths), a S. 4	8.00
Total	43.00

@@ “wife's and children's current expenses” comprises:

five pair of *kaniki* (rough, black) cloth, a S. 7	35.00
two pair *kangas* (coloured, large scarfs), a S. 8	16.00
necklaces for wife and daughters	1.40
Total	52.40

It goes without saying that this calculation can not give more than the rough estimate of an average. There are still many Makonde women who do not own either European gowns, or coloured *kangas*, though the husband's failure to provide at least the latter is one of the most common complaints which lead to divorce (or informal separation among Roman Catholics or Anglicans). Similarly there are men, among the Wa-Makonde who do not possess dinner jackets (generally worn on forenoon *barazas* over Arab *kanzus*) but on the other hand there are many who possess several European coats and *kanzus* as well.

That, however, the proportion of expenditure on clothing among these tropical peasants is inproportionally high, if for instance compared with peasants in cold countries where, moreover, warm clothing serves a useful purpose, needs no further elaboration. Protein and Vitamin deficiency as also the lack of care for skin and hair are serious problems in Africa and could be remedied with comparatively small sums, spent on dried fish, cheap palm oils and soaps, as well as locally grown fruits, if the use of these articles would be incorporated into the prestige pattern and be propagated as vigorously as European clothing have been made to be considered as the hallmark of "civilization" and personal dignity in the past.

It has already been pointed out that a change in this situation is bound to come and, indeed, has already made a start in the attempt to re-introduce an approximation to traditional African dress patterns in Ghana, the Legislative Assembly of Kenya and elsewhere. But again: the pending change of attitudes might be happier, if encouraged and guided by experienced community development officers and in women's clubs, than it may be if left to chance

A few basic facts about hygiene, aesthetic and social values, concerning clothing habits, could easily be explained in women's clubs and brought home to the mind of the average African mother: a baby in tropical regions is healthier, cleaner and happier naked, than covered with a sweat-soaked and inevitably filthy dress. School children and children on play and sport-grounds, at least, should be encouraged to keep the upper part of their bodies free from the particularly unsuitable European blouses and shirts. Grown up people should remember that a bare body above the belt neither was, nor is, in any way disgraceful or "uncivilised"; particularly not at work or on *safari* in the heat of the day, but the use of sweat-soaked, torn and filthy cloathing, certainly is. Less, but more suitable, cleaner and well kept clothing should be made an indication of good behaviour and decency. That would already go a long way in combating the present unfortunate evaluation of a person's social standing and dignity as indicated by the amount of Western clothing, assembled on a body which is sweating under the load of ill-suited, unhealthy and ugly clothes. A few directions given on these lines would help to solve growing economic and social tensions in Africa, which are likely to cause the more confusion, the less they are made conscious and faced squarely as real, existing problems.

The increase of consumption in one particular line – that of clothing in the sample here cited – has been shown as opposed to a kind of consumption which would substantiate the application of the term *prosperity*, also in the context of cultural relativism, i.e., increased intake of vitamins, proteins, skin-care and warm blankets at night; especially in a country of cold night and high day temperatures.

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The Viennese School System: Social Mobility and its Implications

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IT is generally conceded that American schools are dominated by middle class values, staffed by people imbued with middle class values, and offer a fairly good chance for success to children from lower class families if they accept the dominant value system. If the child's value system is compatible with the teacher's, he will be judged primarily according to his ability and performance rather than the social status of his parents.

In Vienna a child enters the Volksschule at the age of six and after four years of school is given an examination which will determine whether he will be admitted to the Gymnasium or to the Hauptschule.[1] Those who pass the exam. may go to the Gymnasium for eight years of college preparatory training which will lead to admission to the university. Those who do not pass must go to the Hauptschule, which provides the remaining four years of compulsory education. Approximately 27% of the students enter the college preparatory program while the rest attend the Hauptschule.[2]

During the Volksschule period the child has been placed in either the first or second *Zug* according to his academic ability. Schools in Vienna are generally arranged so that they have two such *Züge* or classes at each grade level and are labelled 1a and 1b, 2a and 2b, and so on. The child is soon aware of whether he is in the faster "a" *Zug* or in the slower "b" *Zug*, but often the classes vary only slightly in ability. The realistic acceptance of the ability of the child evidently does not create as much of a problem among Viennese parents as it may among some American parents who have greater aspirations for their children.

Since the entrance examination to the Gymnasium is based on the fundamentals of reading and math., parents can and do hire tutors for their children during the summer and for help during the school year. The social class of the parents may greatly influence their attitude toward their child's achievement in the school. Since the "Doktor" title is highly respected in Austria, the middle and upper class family is willing to sacrifice a great deal to permit a son to complete the course of study leading to the doctorate. Because the entrance examination to the Gymnasium which the child takes at the age of ten determines his academic life to a very large degree, the well educated middle class family may exert strenuous efforts to see that their child gets over this hurdle. Special classes designed to help a student pass this exam. are offered by private teachers. If a student fails the exam at the age of ten he can attempt it again after his fifth year of schooling.

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[1] In reality the Gymnasium is only one type of Mittelschule. There is also a Realgymnasium, Realschule, and Mädchenoberschule. For simplicity's sake I am using the more familiar word Gymnasium for all college preparatory schools as compared to those leading primarily to vocational schools or direct placement in the work force. The many specialized programs have been ignored.

[2] Stadtschulrat für Wien, *Das Wiener Schulwesen* (Vienna: G. Gistel & Cie., 1958), p. 41. Approximately 6% remain in special schools for children handicapped in some way.

The working class family, on the other hand, probably has different aspirations. If a boy were to enter the Gymnasium at the age of ten or eleven he would have eight years of academic training which would provide relatively few skills for earning a living. Only by going on to the university and completing another 5 or 6 years for the doctorate would he really be utilizing his Gymnasium training. Dropping out anywhere along the way, after the fourth year, is tantamount to failing in that the training is not readily applicable in another direction. (His first four years are comparable to Hauptschule schooling, so he can easily shift into the vocational stream at this time.) This feeling also applies to beginning work at the university. As one student at the University of Vienna put it, "If you have studied for seven or eight years in the university and do not take your doctorate, you have wasted the entire period." In other words the prestige of the "Herr Doktor" title may be every bit as important as the utility of the knowledge gained. As a result working class parents might be inclined to encourage their children to continue their next four years in the Hauptschule and then go to one of the trade schools which will provide training for a secure job at the age of seventeen or eighteen. A boy with talent may go to one of the technical schools and even on to one of the colleges which offers a program in the applied sciences. The desire to see a child earn the doctorate may not be as strong as the realization that the other educational route offers a great deal more occupational security.

After four years in the Volkschule and after entering the Hauptschule, the student can theoretically make the shift to the Gymnasium; but certain practical difficulties exist. In the U.S. a student can shift into the college preparatory program by taking classes in place of an elective or by going to summer school. The change to an academic program can even be made as late as the junior college. In Austria the Latin requirement can interfere with an otherwise flexible program. After the second year in the Gymnasium, Latin instruction begins. If a student were to transfer from the Hauptschule in his fourth year he would not be able to take Latin with a third year class and his other subjects with fourth year students. He must have studied Latin on his own so that he can enter the appropriate class since all of his classmates must take the same program. In reality then, if the entrance into the Gymnasium is not made at the age of ten or eleven it will not be made at all; and for all practical purposes the Gymnasium is the only route to the university.

On the other hand 30–35% of Gymnasium students will leave at the end of the fourth year when school is no longer required. At the age of fourteen the Gymnasium student who has only been partially successful may decide to join the Hauptschule graduates and enter a vocational school. Unless the son of a working class family showed particular promise and his parents were willing and able to finance his future education, he might find it more practical to leave the gymnasium. The son of a well educated upper class family, however, might be intensively tutored in order to stay in the college preparatory stream. Those who find themselves in the seventh and eighth years of the Gymnasium will have a much greater chance of earning the doctor's degree than their American counterpart. A higher percentage of Americans may complete a college preparatory course in high school and enter college but the drop out rate is higher. The American, however, places more value on a couple of years of college even without a degree.

Some other characteristics of the Viennese school system seem to indicate that it makes an effort to train the child for his probable station in life rather than bring out his highest potential. This may be illustrated by the number of students in special schools. In 1957 6.1% of all Viennese students of compulsory school age were in special schools. Of 111,000 students, 4,642 or 4.1% were in *Hilfsschulen* for less gifted children.[1] The remaining 2% were distributed as follows: 541 were in schools for physically handicapped, 369 in sanatorium schools, 114 in schools for the hard of hearing, 240 in schools for visual difficulties, 315 in schools for those with speech problems, and 836 in schools for disciplinary problems. In 1960 there were also three new schools for the severely mentally retarded.[2] The Viennese schools are internationally famous or developing techniques for teaching students with special problems.

Viennese teachers and administrators readily admit that many of the students in the most numerous of the special schools, those for the less gifted, were not sent there only because of lack of ability but also because of the inability to perform academically and otherwise. As a result the special school may inherit a variety of problems, but the problem student may also be able to achieve status within an acceptable milieu. Most of the students will come from working class families and will leave school to enter working class positions. Although their school will have low social status, the students will form a peer group of their own. These same children probably wouldn't "belong" in a normal school even in the "b" *Zug*. In visiting one of these schools for slower students, I met the president of the parents' club. Although I have no proof, I am inclined to believe a parents' club meeting at such a school would provide a more comfortable atmosphere for the working class parent than most American PTA meetings. As a result this type of school may be in closer contact with the value system of the working class.

While discussing a student, who had lost one hand, with an official of one of the schools for physically handicapped children, I asked if the boy would be sent back to the normal school as soon as he had mastered certain skills. The official told me that he would probably stay in the special school for eight years because the policy was to avoid sending students into situations where it might be too difficult and where they might fail. He recognized that while a student *could* get the proper academic training at the special school, it is unlikely that he would have the incentive to attempt advanced studies. It is generally assumed in the special schools that children will not attempt to enter the gymnasium.

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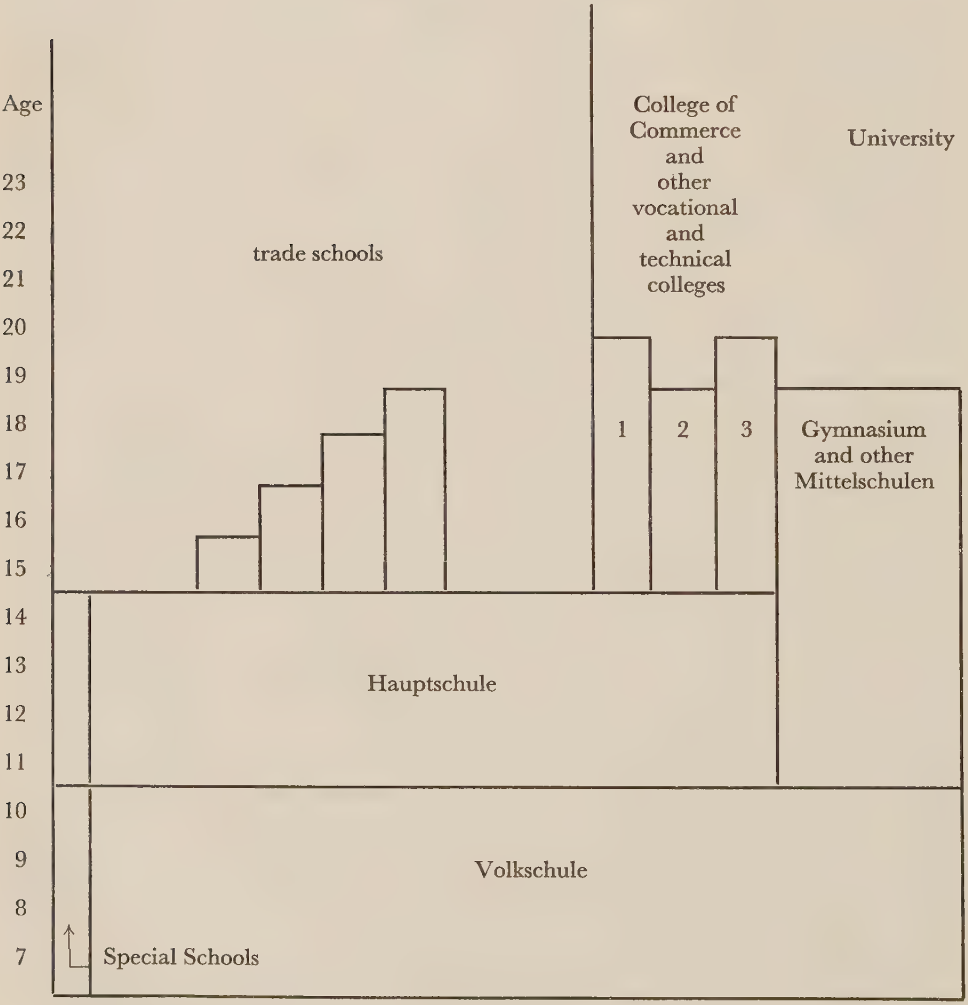
[1] ibid., pp. 54–55.

[2] Thomas Chorherr, "Die unheilvolle Kurve," *Die Presse*, February 28, 1960.

The Structure of the Vienna School System


Age
23
22
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trade schools
College of Commerce and other vocational and technical colleges
University
1
2
3
Gymnasium and other Mittelschulen
Hauptschule
Volkschule
Special Schools

1 Teacher Training Institutions.
2 School of Commerce.
3 Other professional Mittelschulen.

The primary goal of the Viennese school seems to be to channel a student along those lines where he is most likely to succeed. A Viennese child with certain characteristics or problems is encouraged to adapt himself to his problems along with others who face similar situations. There is little effort to push a child into the very highest academic achievement possible according to his potential. The child may be encouraged to have high aspirations within his social class, but he is not encouraged to aspire to higher social class status to any degree.

The American "democratic" school system rates every child on the same scale – a middle class scale – and permits him to rise above the social class position of his parents.

> However, this does not make the situation psychologically any easier for those of their brethren who remain behind, or rather, below. Low achieved status is no pleasanter than low ascribed status, and very likely a good deal more unpleasant, ... it reflects more directly on the *personal* inadequacy of the child and leaves him with fewer convenient rationalizations.[1]

This value system tends to lower the working families' respect for the working class in general. "Only those lower class families and their children who are trying to gain vertical social mobility in the social system will consider with any degree of seriousness the teacher's admonitions and urgent pleas."[2] The teacher will naturally be increasingly displeased with those children from unambitious families, and they will have little chance for success in the school.

As a result of this competition between children of all social backgrounds, the working child may be at a great disadvantage.

> It is here that, day after day, most of the children in the lower fourth of the distribution have their sense of worth destroyed, develop feelings of insecurity, become frustrated and lose confidence in their ability to learn even that which they are capable of learning.[3]

While the Viennese school system may tend to perpetuate the class structure, it may also provide a more gratifying educational milieu for the working class child than our system with its many opportunities for vertical social mobility.

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[1] Albert K. Cohen, *Delinquent Boys, The Culture of the Gang* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1955) p. 112.

[2] John Martin Rich, "How Social Class Values Affect Teacher Pupil Relations," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, XXXIII, No. 9 (May 1960), 357.

[3] Maurice E. Troyer, "Squaring Evaluation Processes with Democratic Values," *American Council of Education Studies*, Series I, No. 34 (January 1949), p. 42.

The Refugee and his Country of Refuge

Integration Problems in the German Federal Republic

by

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THE situation of the refugee can be regarded as one of the phenomena of social mobility due to spatial, social and spiritual uprooting. When trying to obtain certain normative criteria of the social process involved in this historically isolated process-complex of flight or expulsion and the refugee's adaptation, with a view to ascertaining whether there are definite social patterns, a striking resemblance will be observed as regards the general pattern between the processes of disintegration and reintegration, destructurization and restructurization, deposal and reinstatement, dissimilation and assimilation on the one hand – processes which form the key problem of refugee research[1] – and the process-complex of industrialization and urbanization, emigration and immigration of social groups on the other hand – a field already well covered by sociological research. There is, nevertheless, a difference between these two problem complexes, namely one of historical context and the dynamics involved[2].

Since time immemorial history relates of vast treks of refugees – from the Exodus from Egypt, as described in the Apocrypha of the Bible, to the mass deportations of World War II and the post-war years, or even up to the waves of refugees in recent times from Hungary, Algeria, Tibet, Laos, Cuba or the Congo, or from any other crisis spot of the contemporary world. It further tells of suffering and distress but also of self-denial and altruism. The refugee figures for the Twentieth Century are unparalleled in history – whole populations or groups of populations were resettled, deported or ejected. From 1912–1913 about 200,000 Turks fled from the Balkan countries and 150,000 Greeks from Anatolia. The Treaty of Neuilly between Greece and Bulgaria, signed on November the 27th, 1919, put 92,000 Bulgarians and 46,000 Greeks on the road. The Graeco-Turkish exchange of minority populations, as laid down in the Treaty of Lausanne on January, the 30th, 1923, led to the resettlement of

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[1] Elisabeth Pfeil, Thema und Wege der deutschen Flüchtlingsforschung, in: Mitteilungen aus dem Institut für Raumforschung, Bonn, No 6, Bad Godesberg, p. 1.

[2] Helmut Schelsky, Wandlungen der deutschen Familie in der Gegenwart, Dortmund, 1953, p. 44.

355,000 Mohammedans from Greece and of 914,000 Greeks from Thrace and Anatolia. Approximately 800,000 Germans were ejected from Posen and Western Prussia and another 150,000 inhabitants of the Alsace were evicted after World War I from their habitual residence areas, or opted for Germany and left their home country of their own accord. The same happened to the Hungarians living in Rumania. The National-Socialist regime, in the years between 1933 and 1945, caused innumerous dissenting Germans to leave their country. The number of people directly involved in the deportations and mass evacuations carried out by Germany and other countries during World War II run into millions. Estimates of the number of refugees after World War II are of the order of 35 to 45 million people. From Israel alone 852,000 Arabs migrated to the Jordan, Egypt, Syria and the Lebanon and 200,000 Jews from Iraq, Yemen and Syria to Israel. Many millions of Hindus from Pakistan were resettled in India because of reasons of religion, and millions of Moslems from India were transferred to Pakistan. The examples are legion. It must be remembered, however, in this connection that the figures for the shifting of population groups and resettlements in terms of demo-political policy within the various countries themselves have not been accounted for.

Partly because of its own fault and partly through the hazards of history, Germany has become one of the most 'mobile' nations in the world during the past World War and after[1]. As a consequence, about 14 million Germans were compelled to leave the former Eastern German territories and the countries of South-Eastern Europe. The partition of Germany into two parts has led to a continuous migration movement of large scale proportions. Since 1945 approximately three million inhabitants of the Soviet occupied portion of Germany (now known as the German Democratic Republic) came to settle in the German Federal Republic, and this influx is still continuing. Since these mobility processes in Germany are taking place within a relatively small area, certain problems arising as a result of the continuous influx of large masses of people, are assuming cardinal importance. It should also be borne in mind that the migrations referred to, proceed within an ethnically homogeneous environment.

For this reason alone post-war Germany can be regarded as an ideal field of research for the sociologist interested in the characteristic traits and evolution patterns of horizontal social mobility. This particular fact of a migration within an ethnically homogeneous environment, in other words, the immigration to Western Germany from the former East German territories during the postwar years and the continuing migration of people from one part of Germany to the other, offers a perfect field for experimental research in which a host of conditions, which would normally be present in an ethnically heterogeneous environment, are practically eliminated. This particular set of circumstances in which the number of determining factors has been reduced to a minimum, makes it possible to tackle sociological investigations on the situation of the refugee in the host country, i.e. the German Federal Republic, with an almost experimental approach, and to deal more specifically with problems which, in other instances, would have largely been concealed or modified by extraneous contributing factors. The German Federal Republic should, however, not be regarded as the one and only exception in this respect. There are quite a number of countries in our present day world situation which are politically divided into two parts and where migrations of this kind, within an ethnically homogeneous environment, also take place.

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[1] The order of magnitude of this problem is most remarkable: approx. one fifth of all Germans has the status of expellees or refugees. E. Pfeil referred to the refugee as "the embodiment of the change of an era" (Der Flüchtling, Hamburg, 1948). In view of the vast number of persons in Germany who, during the last years of the war, became "evacuees", "transferees", "air raid victims", etc., the lot of the refugee virtually became the characteristic lot of the German of the post-war period.

A cursory glance at the relations of the refugee or the emigrant with his country of refuge, will reveal – quite apart from the immigrant's legal status at that time and the specific structure of the host country – that different types of such relations may exist. In the first, the neutral type, relations between the immigrant and the country of refuge are characterized by indifference. The receiving country goes as far as to allow him to immigrate, but does not go out of its way beyond this mere act of allowing him to settle down in that country; it does not feel under any obligation towards the new citizen. As a result the immigrant does not see his new country as the land of his dreams, but chooses it merely for utilitarian reasons. Consequently, he does not cherish unrealistic hopes; he realizes that he has to fend for himself, and he will take the chances open to him without expecting any aid on the merits of his particular status.

The second type of the refugee's relation with his country of refuge, i.e. the type in which an affinity exists between refugee and his country of refuge, presupposes a readiness on the part of the host country to absorb the refugee, and the latter's willingness to become assimilated. This affinity, however, may also prove to be one-sided. The eagerness to incorporate the newcomer may also be motivated by economic considerations. They may regard him as a welcome addition to the reservoir of manpower where the labour position is critical as e.g. in the case of overemployment. Or they may see in him the highly qualified specialist which the country badly needs. Apart from such factors political motives may also play a decisive rôle where the immigrant's country of origin is hostile towards his new home of refuge and where his departure is viewed as a sapping of that country's strength and as reinforcement of his new country's position of power – and as irrefutable proof of the righteousness of its policy and its more favourable living conditions. The preparedness of the fugitive to become assimilated in his new country can be motivated in the negative sense by his hatred towards his country of origin, or in a positive sense by the image he has formed for himself of his new home. As a rule, this leads to prejudices towards the environment he left behind and an idealized image which he projects on the country of refuge.

The third type which is characterized by one-sided or mutual aversion, forms a contrast with the one described above. The receiving country views the newcomer as an unwelcome addition who has to be accepted for purely legal reasons, but who is regarded as an uncomfortable burden in terms of that country's politics or economy. This very situation has become characteristic for thousands of refugees all over the world. This feeling of xenophobia is usually aroused by direct contact if it has not already been present on both sides at the outset. Very often a refugee is compelled to choose a country as his sanctuary – frequently for no other reason than that of geographical proximity or mere expediency – which had no particular meaning to him or towards which he even harboured a certain degree of antipathy.

This relationship between refugee and country of refuge is of vital importance in the process of integration. These three model types of this kind of relationship appear in a wide gamut of variations which are largely determined and differentiated according to the variations in motivation among the immigrants and/or the degree of antipathy provoked in them owing to political, historical or religious factors, or due to a moral obligation under which the receiving country feels or believes to be in respect of the person asking for sanctuary.

The immigrant seeking admission may be a mere adventurer, or perhaps a criminal wanted by the police who tries to gain entry by illegal means, or it may be somebody looking for better chances to develop his capabilities or a person attracted by a higher plane of living, but we shall also find the genuine political fugitive or exiled person seeking asylum. In the case of particularly meritorious fugitive, the country granting refuge may even feel under a moral obligation. It may feel responsible for his lot and go out of its way to give him all the help it can and try to be a true haven to him. In cases where such migrations take place into a country where a spirit of responsibility prevails, where the immigrants are welcome and where they encounter an ethnically homogeneous environment in addition to an identical context of history and culture, the conditions for the immigrant's integration can be regarded as almost ideal, especially if his choice for that particular country was deliberate and of his own free will. Consequently, all those additional problems are eliminated which usually complicate a process of integration: language difficulties, fundamental cultural differences, a lack of receptiveness due to ardent patriotic sentiments[1], ethnic heterogeneity, an attitude of obstructiveness on the part of the authorities instead of assistance – all in all difficulties which tend to mount, not to arithmetical but geometrical proportions. In an analysis, however, such problems frequently are so involved that other factors, not quite as conspicuous but also inherent to processes of integration, are likely to be overlooked. As far as horizontal mobility in Germany is concerned, these most favourable conditions for integration already referred to indeed seem to exist. It will be clear that the migrants who are at present pouring into the territory of the Federal Republic from the other part of Germany are as little affected by language, ethnic, cultural and loyalty problems as were the expellees and German displaced persons[1] who, during and after the war, migrated from the Eastern territories to Western Germany.

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[1] Robert Michels, Patriotismus, Prolegomena zu seiner soziologischen Analyse, München and Leipzig, 1929, p. 146.

All the groups of migrants meet with help and understanding on the part of the authorities; their country of refuge is after all part of their own home country. Amongst the inhabitants of the host country there is even a genuine feeling of responsibility and sympathy for the refugee and his lot, because they realize that this might have been their lot too. In this context one may, with a certain degree of justification, even speak of a bad conscience on the part of those who were privileged by a fortunate set of circumstances over which they had no control, to remain where they are and be allowed to reach self-fulfilment in their own country. This may also serve as an explanation for the responsibility felt for the refugees and expellees who were, in a sense, destined by fate to suffer on behalf of the whole nation. This, in turn, led to legislation aiming at a fair distribution of the burdens among the whole population as implemented by the "Equalization of Burdens Act"[2]. These groups of refugees can accordingly be classified as falling in the second category mentioned above.

The problems that have arisen in Germany in spite of the favourable circumstances at the time of influx are most revealing. One must, however, differentiate here between the large group of expellees, the smaller group of German displaced persons, and the so-called refugees from the Soviet Zone of Occupation. The first two categories had no choice; they were forced to leave their homes. The refugees from the Soviet Zone, however, were and still are able to choose whether they want to leave their homes or stay, i.e. provided they do not belong to the category of the genuine political fugitives who have to fear for their lives[3]. An important difference between the two former groups on the one hand and the latter group on the other, is the fact that the majority of the expellees and German displaced persons fled as whole families or even as neighbourhood communities, whereas it is a characteristic feature of the refugees from the Soviet Zone that they mostly had to flee as individuals, due to the greater handicaps they had to cope with on their way to Western Germany.

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[1] Expellees ("Heimatvertriebene") are German citizens who had on 31st December, 1937, their residence east of the Oder-Neisse Line within the former German Reich. German displaced persons ("Vertriebene") are Germans ethnically or by virtue of their citizenship who lost their homes situated outside Western Germany, the Soviet Zone of Occupation or Berlin as a result of the vicissitudes of the war and post-war period (World War II) and who do not fall under the category of expellees. – Soviet Zone refugees ("Sowjetzonenzuwanderer", "Sowjetzonenflüchtlinge") are German citizens who abandoned their residence in the Soviet Zone of Occupation and migrated to the Federal Republic. – K. V. Müller (Heimatvertriebene Jugend, Kitzingen/Main, 1953, p. 171) draws a sharp line of distinction between "migrants through compulsion" (expellees and German displaced persons) and "migrants through emergency" (refugees from the Soviet Zone). Külz (Die Flüchtlinge aus der sowjetischen Besatzungszone, Frankfurt, 1950, p. 8 ff.) differentiates between four categories: (1) expellees who were removed from their home by force against their will and without being instrumental in their expulsion and who cannot return; (2) refugees who left their home clandestinely against their true will but of their own choice and in the face of imminent danger; (3) migrants (normal resettlers in the possession of official exit permits) and (4) stragglers who left their country temporarily during the war and post-war period and who are unable and unwilling to return now.

[2] The "Equalization of Burdens Act" of the Federal Republic of 14 August, 1952, aims at "a compensation for the damages and losses which have arisen as a consequence of the expulsions and destructions during the war and post-war period".

[3] They only form a small percentage of the migrants. In view of the close interaction of all the spheres of life, however, every refugee who has left the Soviet Zone for economical reasons, should be regarded as a political refugee in the wider sense of the term.

The most essential advantage of fleeing as a whole family or neighbourhood community lies in the potentiality of "taking" social patterns along, the contact with fellow sufferers and the awareness of being in the company of people who formed part of one's environment back home. This awareness cannot be substituted by anything else. It is most interesting to note that a willingness to become integrated was particularly observed among these very refugee families of post-war Germany[1]. The refugee attaches particular importance to the primary group in which he still enjoys some prestige which he ceases to have in his new environment as a result of his uprooting.

In the cases where whole neighbourhood communities were transplanted, new integration nuclei were formed which proved considerably stable in the unfamiliar environment, since the expellees and German displaced persons also encountered suspicion, hostility towards strangers and antagonism on the part of the native population. The establishing of contacts was also hampered by regionalism, downgrading, loss of prestige and the underprivileged position of the "new citizen". The gulf between town and country precluded contact between local villagers and recent arrivals from the towns, or between rural refugees who were used to cordial social intercourse with their neighbours in their region of origin and the relatively uncommunicative local city dwellers who are usually indifferently disposed towards neighbours.

Apart from these problems which the expellees and German displaced persons have come up against in their efforts to become integrated in their new environment, (a readiness to become assimilated may be taken for granted in these instances, as the likelihood of a return to their native region would seem rather dim for some time to come; the propounding of the "going back home myth" in order to prevent the refugees from settling down, has been and will remain prerogative of the faction ideologists) still other problems come into play for the socially isolated migrants from the Soviet Zone of Occupation which, apart from the latent hopes of return to their regions, include genuine difficulties of adaptation and a sapping of vitality as a result of a lack of social sheltering. As a rule, the missing family is in such instances compensated for by "substitute groups" as e.g. by groups of persons sharing a common fate. These primary groups – family surrogates – arise from the isolation of the individual in his new situation and, by overcoming this isolation, lead to the isolation of the small group which, as regards the integration desired, can be regarded as identical in character with the process of isolation observed in the family or neighbourhood community in the new environment. The small groups and "youth guilds" which were established in the Federal Republic by juvenile refugees and which were even assisted and organized under official auspices with a view to providing

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[1] Helmut Schelsky, opus cit.

"integration aids" (although they had exactly the opposite effect) proved to be surprisingly long-lived – a factor which may give one food for thought. Investigations in this connection revealed that this was a form of "substitute adaptation" which could be explained by the fundamental change in environment, in other words, as a consequence of the integration gradient between the two parts of Germany, and which had therefore to be regarded as an inevitable intermediate phase in the process of integration.*

The over-regimentation of the individual in a totalitarian dictatorship will be classified in this context as the maximum integration of the individual in society. A habituation to this set of circumstances presents considerable adaptation problems to the individual confronted with a social context with a minimum of integration and where he is allowed a large degree of freedom and initiative. The longer this habituation has been going on and the younger the individual was at the time of confrontation with this different environment, the greater will be the difficulties he will encounter in the process of adaptation. In cases like these the refugee requires considerable time to settle down. The receiving country can give but little help in such cases, as it is, in spite of its willingness to integrate the refugee, unable to mobilize those integration forces he may be in need of. The refugee may contribute his share by reorientating himself in his new social environment after he has realized the implications of his particular situation.

The integration of refugees and migrants entering into the society of their host country is a social process, the dynamic character of which is reflected in the gradual adaptation on the part of the refugees to the prevailing conditions in their country of refuge. This assimilation takes place in a definite pattern of phases established by studies on the refugee undertaken so far.

E. Pfeil[1] juxtaposes the sequence of phases comprised by the departure stage – the flight stage – the stage of arrival (the allotment of accomodation and the placing in employment) and the phase of life as refugee and "new citizen", with the sociological sequence of phases covering dissimilation – dispersion – isolation – orientation – assimilation, or in terms of psychology, the series of shock – perplexity – despondency – hope (accomplishment/frustration). These patterns were observed in respect of the expulsion of the Germans from the Eastern territories during the post-war period and, *mutatis mutandis* they also apply to the refugee problem complex in general. There are, however, important differences between the particular categories of refugees (the expellees and German displaced persons were evicted from their homes, while the refugees from the Soviet Zone of Occupation fled from their homes), and the initial phases of the abovementioned series must therefore be modified accordingly: instead of a departure due to "force majeure" we get a departure of the refugee's own accord – instead of a dissimilation of whole communities a dissimilation of individuals – and shock and perplexity are replaced by a feeling of dejection followed by an act of choice.

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* The term "integration" is used here both in its dynamic and static sense of the word. By the first connotation is meant the process of adaptation of the refugee in his country of refuge. The refugee is regarded as "integrated" after he has become completely adapted to his new environment i.e. once he has become part of it. By the latter (the static) connotation of integration is meant the degree of social distance and communication between the members of a society. The greater the social distance, the smaller is social communication and, consequently, the degree of integration (in its extreme degree: minimal integration), and vice versa (maximal integration). Villages are more "integrated" than towns and small communities more "integrated" than large social entities. Totalitarian states tend towards large scale integration, whereas liberal states are, as a rule, minimum integrated. The state of integration in its pure sociological connotation (i.e. not in terms of political law) denotes the degree of social sheltering of the individual.

[1] Elisabeth Pfeil, Soziologische und psychologische Aspekte der Vertreibung, in: Europa und die deutschen Flüchtlinge, Frankfurt am Main, 1952, p. 61.

The actual process of adaptation in the country of refuge takes place in three phases: the placing in employment and accommodation of the refugee – a preliminary integration in his new environment – and eventually the effort to become finally integrated by total adaptation.

There is no fixed time during which this adaptation process takes place; the time factor, however, does play an important rôle. Of the three phases of adaptation the third one is the most problematic, while the first two ones are overcome with comparative ease, usually within a relatively short time of, say, four to six months.

The efforts of refugee research were so far directed at finding an index of effective integration or accomplished adaptation. By a combination of the various characteristics something like an "index of acclimatization"[1] was obtained which, however, cannot be regarded as a satisfactory solution.

The concept of the "life situation"[2] offers itself as an objective criterion for the immigrant's position in his new environment, because it enables one to see the refugee not as somebody who still has to be integrated and assimilated, as a not yet full-fledged citizen, in other words, as an object[3], but to see in him beyond these categories a human being in a specific situational context. Only when realizing this, one will abstain from holding the refugee, who is not willing or able to become assimilated, responsible for all the difficulties that have arisen, and one will also start to detect possible weaknesses in one's own social order and begin with a close analysis of the "life situation" of the resident population in order to ascertain whether it does not reveal very similar or even identical defects to those of the refugees. This applies particularly to those countries where the influx of ethnically homogeneous refugees assumes such proportions that the refugee population can be said to constitute a significant percentage of the total population. In such instances of "universal nomadisms"[4] there is even a certain amount of justification in the claim that not only the refugee should adapt himself to his country of refuge, but that the native population should also adapt itself to the refugee[1]. In such cases the refugees have a legitimate claim in respect of the country of refuge and are therefore different from other emigrants who have no such claims: instead of a mere right to sanctuary they have a right of domicile. This right of domicile should, however, not only be seen from the point of view of space; it implies much more, namely, a right to sheltering. And this sheltering cannot be brought about by the adaptation of the refugees only, but by a mutual process of adaptation alone. This, in turn, means in the particular case of the German Federal Republic that not only the refugees shall have to restructurize themselves but that also the Federal Republic as the country of refuge will have to adapt itself to the situation created by the refugee influx.

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[1] Elisabeth Pfeil, Thema und Wege, l.c., p. 19–20.

[2] The concept of "life situation" introduced by Alexander Rüstow (Sozialpolitik oder Vitalpolitik, Sonderdruck aus den Mitteilungen der Industrie- und Handelskammer zu Dortmund, 15. November 1951) is a very handy term indeed. It can be defined as a synthesis of all the conditions which determine the life of an individual in a given situation. An ideal "life situation" would exist where a person has his work, food, home and also a place in the society of his fellows, in other words: where he is socially integrated.

[3] Herbert Girgensohn, Flüchtlinge und Kirche, Stuttgart, 1948, p. 34.

[4] René König, Soziologie heute, Zürich, 1949, p. 104.

This, on the other hand, poses the question of the practical feasibility of adaptation as a whole which, for that matter, cannot be accomplished by the efforts of the immigrant alone in every particular case, firstly, because the receiving country does not seem structurally predisposed for an integration of the refugee and, secondly, because the structural change, which the refugee had to undergo, acts as a brake to his efforts of becoming completely assimilated. Where, as in the particular case of large-scale migrations of ethnically homogeneous refugees, the legitimate claim by the migrants to a mutual adaptation is not met by the receiving country, the process of mutual assimilation will take place automatically, even though at a somewhat slower rate. The mere fact of an infiltration of the residentially established population by millions of refugees must of needs have a changing effect on that population[2].

Developments in the Federal Republic during the past few years, and especially those which have resulted as a consequence of the influx of millions of refugees from the "maximum integrated" Soviet Zone of Occupation (the German Democratic Republic), have led to still further significant inferences. It became apparent that the answer to the question whether an assimilation succeeds or not in an individual case, will not only depend on the specific conditions prevailing in the receiving country – in other words, on the refugee's integration position ("maximum" or "minimum integration"), but also on the after-effects of the conditions under which the migrant had to live in his former environment.

The change in environment brought about by the refugee's migration creates a completely new set of conditions. Adaptation will be the more difficult, the greater the contrast there is between the new conditions he will have to face and the conditions engrained by habit, and the longer the refugee has been exposed to the original set of conditions.

Consequently, adaptation will be the easier, the smaller the differences are going to be between his old and new environment, and the less pronounced the influences will be to which he was subjected at home and those acting on him in his new habitat. The character of the environment is largely determined by the specific manner in which human communities and individuals live together. A change in the state of integration (i.e. a society with a maximum or minimum integration) can, therefore, make itself felt in the case of population movements and act as an inhibitor of assimilation. When changing in an assimilation model only the data of the state of integration according to the different types of migration – all the other factors remaining equal – and limiting oneself to the two extreme forms of maximum and minimum integration (totalitarian dictatorship with a monopoly of organization, education and shaping public opinion plus a planned economy, as opposed to a liberal and democratic social order with freedom of organization and opinion plus a free market economy) there will be four possibilities (of course, with variations in degree and flowing transitions) according to which the change of environment, i.e. from one state of integration to another, may have a causal effect on the assimilation process. The isolation of this single factor of the state of integration from the many other factors which also come into play in the integration process, was made to throw light on the significance of the phenomenon of social integration, a factor which has already been emphasized by empirical studies. The effects of this factor on adaptation processes should, of course, not be overestimated; neither should it be underestimated as has mostly been the case up to now.

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[1] ibid.

[2] A characteristic feature of this is the "connubium". Cf. also: Karl Valentin Müller, Das Konnubium als Mass der psychischen und sozialen Einwurzelung von Flüchtlingsgruppen, in: Raumforschung und Raumordnung, 1950/2. p. 72–74.

If integration is at a minimum in the receiving country, any effort directed at an integration of the immigrant is bound to meet with difficulties in the beginning, as the host country is, because of its whole structure, unable to provide any special integration aids. If the immigrant left a society behind where integration was also minimal, he will consider his new position as being quite normal and he will try to adapt himself gradually. Migrants from countries with a maximum of integration on the other hand, are confronted with an abrupt change from one state of integration to another diametrically opposed to it, and they have to cope with all the difficulties attached to such a transition. Their "life situation" may perhaps never become balanced satisfactorily unless the host country becomes more integrated and thus begins to approach to some extent the state of integration they were accustomed to. A merger of groups of fellow-refugees may offer a solution to the problem, provided that such factors as space, time and human relations make this feasible.

In those cases where there is a maximum of integration in the receiving country, migrants from similar social orders find a familiar environment. Migrants, however, from societies with a minimum of integration will find this degree of regimentation unbearable and will probably not be able to adapt themselves completely unless the country of refuge reduces by degrees its maximum integration and begins to approximate to the opposite state of integration. It would seem necessary in all such instances not only to analyze the "life situation" of the refugee but also that of the resident population, so as to be able to explain the adaptation difficulties experienced by the refugee not by his situation alone, but also by that of the receiving country as a whole. If this particular phenomenon of national mass migrations were to bring about a mutual adaptation which would also benefit the receiving country, the fate of the refugees would indeed acquire a deeper historical meaning.

The Relationship Between Paternal Occupation and Occupational Choice

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IT is intended in this short article to examine the relationship between paternal occupation and the occupational choice of males, mainly school boys. A comment will also be made on a pseudo-longitudinal study of the skilled trades in general, and the trade of fitter (or machinist in American terminology) in particular. Finally, the reasons why boys like or dislike their father's job will be examined. The sociological implications of the subject are two-fold. First, the socializing influence of the family itself exerts certain pressures on occupational choice, some of them direct and others oblique – such as the presentation of information on certain types of jobs or the distortion of information on other jobs. Second, the information provides us with data on social and occupational mobility between generations.

Repeated and many-sided studies have been made which indicate that undue optimism characterizes the vocational ambitions of young people. This is frequently due to inadequate information. On the other hand, unrealistic ambitions often stem from individuals surrounding the youth, especially his parents, because he is exposed to their influence for a long time. The parents, own high standards or aspirations may be transferred to their children and, through the process of identification, they may try to compensate through their children for the deprivations which they themselves have experienced.[1]

Most investigations show that the father's occupation has a definite influence on the son's choice of occupation.[2] Generally speaking, a boy's occupational goal is higher than his father's occupational level. One of the problems of this relatively high level of aspiration is that educational and vocational adjustment may be necessary during adolescence. This, in turn, may lead to discouragement and emotional upheaval.[1]

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[1] A. Korner, "Origins of Impractical or Unrealistic Vocational Goals," *Journal of Consulting Psychology*, 10, 1946, 328–334.
G. S. Spear, "The Influence of Occupational Information on Occupational Goals," *Occupations*, 2, 1949, 15–17.
E. Chinoy, *Automobile Workers and the American Dream*, (Garden City: Doubleday, 1955).
N. F. Dufty, "Occupational Status, Job Satisfaction and Levels of Aspiration," *British Journal of Sociology*, 11, 1960, 348–355.

[2] P. G. Jensen and W. K. Kirchner, "A National Answer to the Question "Do Sons Follow Their Father's Occupations?"" *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 39, 1955, 419–421. This article contains an extensive bibliography.

In 1959 a sample of over 1,300 boys aged 13 to 14 years was drawn from government high schools in the Perth Metropolitan Area.[2] The data on slightly more than half the boys making specific occupational choices were subject to detailed analysis by cross tabulation of occupational choice against paternal occupation. This is shown in Table 1 with the percentages calculated with the paternal occupation as a base. From the table it seems that professional occupations were influenced by the status of the father's job, that is, the higher the status of the father the greater the percentage of boys selecting professional level occupations. Managerial occupations are not selected *per se*, the job chosen is picked on its occupational characteristics rather than its hierarchical status. A boy wishes to be an accountant, not a *chief* accountant. Similarly with the "own business" category, a boy nominating "plumber," who would be included in the skilled trade category here, may actually wish to become a master plumber with his own business. The number of fathers in "adventure type" occupations was small and this group will not be discussed. This category includes armed services and police, it was so called because the boys nominating these occupations were primarily concerned with the adventure aspects of the job. The boy choosing the police force almost invariably wished to be a detective, the boy

Table 1

Occupational choice, by father's occupation, 13–14 year old males, Perth, 1959

Father's Occupation / *Son's Choice of occupation*	*Prof*	*Own Bus*	*White Collar*	*Primary*	*Skilled*	*"Adventure Type"*	*Semi-Skilled*	*Un-Skilled*	*Total*	*Sample Size*
Professional	60.9	0	8.7	6.5	19.6	4.3	0	0	100.0	46
Managerial	55.4	0	0	7.5	33.4	3.7	0	0	100.0	27
Own Business	45.7	2.2	13.0	2.2	28.2	8.7	0	0	100.0	46
White Collar	35.6	0	23.0	4.6	28.7	4.6	3.5	0	100.0	88
Primary Industry	29.6	0	0	29.6	26.0	11.1	3.7	0	100.0	27
Skilled	29.2	0	14.3	2.4	44.6	8.9	0	0.6	100.0	168
"Adventure Type"	25.0	0	12.5	0	50.0	12.5	0	0	100.0	8
Semi-Skilled	20.5	0	14.1	2.6	46.1	10.3	5.1	1.3	100.0	78
Unskilled	20.4	1.1	19.3	5.7	37.6	8.0	6.8	1.1	100.0	88
Sample Size	188	2	83	29	212	45	14	3		576

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[1] K. Lewin, T. Dembo, L. Festinger and P. S. Sears, "Level of Aspiration," in J. McV. Hunt (ed.), *Personality and Behavior Disorders*, (New York: Ronald Press, 1944), pp. 333–378.

[2] For other aspects of this investigation see N. F. Dufty, "Vocational Choices of 13–14 Year Old Males in Relation to Intelligence and Reasons for Job Choice," *Australian Journal of Education*, 4, 1960, 38–56.

wanting to join the airforce or the navy wanted to be a pilot and so on. In the professional, own business, white collar, and primary industry categories, the paternal influence is demonstrated by the fact that the highest percentage in the vertical column corresponds to the appropriate paternal occupation. For example, 23% of the boys whose fathers were in white collar occupations also wanted white collar jobs, the percentage of boys wanting white collar jobs whose fathers were in other occupations was in all cases lower than 23. This is also very nearly true of the skilled trades, the figure of 44.6% being slightly exceeded in only one other case, the group whose fathers were in semi-skilled jobs. Semi-skilled and unskilled jobs were, as would be expected, rarely selected. About one boy in thirteen selected an "adventure type" occupation, probably indicating lack of maturity. The general impression was one of an urge for upward mobility, typified by the desire for professional jobs and encouraged by paternal status.

In the case of the fathers who were in semi-skilled and unskilled jobs the upward mobility drive was expressed in their sons' wish to become skilled men as well as the more remote and impractical wish for a profession. Apart from this universal upward aspiration there was also a tendency for the boys to choose their father's occupation.

Turning now to the specific area of the skilled trades Table 2 shows that the paternal occupations of adult carpenters and metal tradesmen to be remarkably similar to those of first year apprentices in the same trades. If we regard semi-skilled and unskilled occupations as being of lower status than the skilled ones and the remainder as being of higher status, then the inter-generation mobility was evenly spread, a third moving up, a third moving down and the remainder staying at the same level. Looking now at the applicants for apprenticeships the percentage with fathers at the professional, managerial and small enterprise

Table 2

Paternal occupations of adult tradesmen, apprentices, applicants for apprenticeships and boys choosing skilled trades, Perth, 1958–1960. (Percentages)

Group	*Professional and Managerial*	*Own Business or Farm*	*White Collar*	*Skilled*	*Semi-Skilled or Unskilled*	*Total*	*Sample Size*
Adult Tradesmen*	6.0	16.0	11.0	36.0	31.0	100.0	100
Apprentices*	6.3	20.6	12.0	30.8	30.3	100.0	208
Applicants for Apprenticeships	3.3	11.5	11.5	30.1	43.6	100.0	209
Boys Choosing Skilled Trades	8.2	9.8	12.2	35.3	32.6	100.0	427

* Metal tradesmen and carpenters only.

levels was lower and the percentage with fathers in unskilled or semi-skilled jobs was higher than in the case of apprentices or tradesmen. It could be hypothesised that the selection process filters out the less able boys, assuming that ability is measured by psychological tests and academic attainment, and that these boys will tend to come from the lower socio-economic status families. In the case of boys wishing to enter skilled trades the paternal occupation distribution is similar to that shown by the samples of apprentices and skilled tradesmen except for the lower percentage whose fathers owned small enterprises. However, nearly a third of the boys in the sample wished to enter one of the professions and only 3 % wanted unskilled or semi-skilled jobs. Obviously, in the light of the structure of the labour market, many of the boys with professional aspirations would be disappointed and would enter the skilled trades and many of those wanting apprenticeships would have to take lower grade jobs. There would, in such a case, be a shift in the distribution, that is, the majority of the boys choosing the skilled trades would not be those who actually became apprentices, even though the distribution of paternal occupations was similar. The basis for this judgement is the fact that two thirds of the boys choosing professional level occupations have a level of intelligence which makes it unlikely that they could qualify in their chosen field.[1] In addition, 37 % of the boys choosing skilled trades had an I.Q. of less than 95, 21 % being below 90. These levels would not make it impossible to obtain an apprenticeship but would make it difficult to do so in a tight labour market.[2]

Narrowing the area still further, to the trade of mechanical fitter, the data are shown in Table 3. Unlike the previous case, there were significant differences between the paternal occupations of the apprentices and the adult tradesmen. Further examination exposed the likely reason for this, about half the apprentices came from the workshops of the Western Australian Government Railways. These are situated some miles from the metropolitan area in a small

Table 3

Paternal occupations of adult fitters, apprentice fitters and applicants for fitting apprenticeships, Perth, 1958–1960. (Percentages)

Group	*Professional and Managerial*	*Own Business or Farm*	*White Collar*	*Skilled*	*Semi-Skilled or Unskilled*	*Total*	*Sample Size*
Adult Fitters	12.0	8.0	10.0	38.0	32.0	100.0	50
Apprentice Fitters	13.2	20.7	14.7	27.9	23.5	100.0	68
Applicants for Fitting Apprenticeships	3.2	9.5	9.5	34.9	42.9	100.0	63

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[1] Dufty, *Australian Journal of Education.*

[2] *Ibid.*

town surrounded by vineyards and orchards, this accounted for the higher proportion of boys whose fathers were small business owners or farmers. The relatively high selection standards of this organization probably increased the proportion of apprentices coming from homes where the father was a white collar worker, although data were not available to support this hypothesis. So far as the paternal occupations of the sample of applicants were concerned, the same tendency was noted as in the previous sample, the boys' fathers having lower socio-economic backgrounds than the fathers of the apprentices or the adult tradesmen. Here again the filtration effect is apparent.

The influence of the father's job may be explored by reference to the data on the boys' attitude to their father's job shown in Table 4 below.

Table 4
Attitude to father's job, 13–14 year old males, Perth, 1959 (Percentages)

			*Like or Dislike**							
			Work Type	*Pay*	*Security*	*Conditions*	*Aptitude*	*Other*	*Total*	*Sample Size*
Boys Choosing Trades	Like Father's Job	Tradesmen Father	51.8	15.4	1.2	1.2	0	30.4	100.0	86
		Other	32.9	29.8	3.0	4.5	3.0	26.8	100.0	68
		Total	44.1	21.4	2.0	2.6	1.3	28.6	100.0	154
	Dislike Father's Job	Tradesman Father	23.6	7.4	13.2	33.8	8.8	13.2	100.0	68
		Other	35.2	13.7	5.4	27.5	3.9	14.3	100.0	204
		Total	32.4	12.1	7.4	29.0	5.1	14.0	100.0	272
Boys Choosing Other Jobs	Like Father's Job	Tradesmen Father	46.1	23.1	0	7.7	0	23.1	100.0	13
		Other	44.4	21.5	6.3	6.3	0	21.5	100.0	79
		Total	44.6	21.7	5.4	6.5	0	21.8	100.0	92
	Dislike Father's Job	Tradesmen Father	15.2	15.2	3.8	40.5	10.1	15.2	100.0	79
		Other	40.7	13.5	5.2	29.2	2.6	8.8	100.0	192
		Total	33.2	14.0	4.8	32.5	4.8	10.7	100.0	271

*The actual data were broken down in finer detail but only those categories in which significant differences were found are included.

Of the boys whose fathers were tradesmen, 55.8% of those choosing skilled trades liked their father's job but in the non-trade choosing sample the figure was only 14.2%; this difference is significant at the 1% level.

In the sample of boys choosing skilled trades who liked the type of work done by their fathers, those who were the sons of tradesmen specified the type of work done as the reason for liking their father's job more often than the sons of men in other occupations, but the latter nominated pay more frequently. These differences were significant at the 5% level. Among the boys choosing skilled trades who did not like their father's job working conditions such as dirt, long hours, etc. was the most frequently cited reason. The boys whose fathers were tradesmen were more concerned with security and less concerned with the type of work than boys whose fathers were in other occupations. These differences were significant at the 5% level.

In the sample of boys choosing other occupations, mainly at the professional and white collar level, those who liked their father's occupation gave very similar reasons to the boys choosing skilled trades who liked their father's occupation. In this sub-sample there were no significant differences between the boys whose fathers were tradesmen and those whose fathers were in other jobs. In the sub-sample who disliked their father's work, working conditions were again the most frequently mentioned reason, and there was no significant difference between these boys and those choosing the skilled trades who disliked their father's job. The main differences between the boys whose fathers were tradesmen and the others were the latter's emphasis on the type of work and the former's emphasis on aptitude, these differences were significant at the 1% level. The former also gave working conditions as their major dislike more often than the later, this being significant at the 5% level.

The outstanding feature of the above analysis is the importance of the status-significant job characteristic of dirt as a negative factor. This factor operated more strongly against the tradesman's job rather than the intrinsic nature of the work itself. Another noteworthy point was the ability of some boys to see that they did not have the necessary aptitude for their father's job. Direct paternal influence was obvious in many of the replies given, e.g. "Dad *says* its a dirty job."

To sum up, the data examined appear to indicate the following:

1. Boys aged 13–14 years have occupational goals considerably higher than their father's occupational level. This is usually manifest in aspiration to professions but the sons of semi-skilled and unskilled workers aspire to the skilled trades more than to the professions.
2. Apart from the strong upward mobility tendency noted above there is a slight tendency for boys to choose occupations the same as, or similar, to their fathers.
3. So far as the skilled trades are concerned, the pattern of paternal occupations seems to be stable over time. There is some evidence that the selection process filters out boys from homes of lower socio-economic status, presumably because of their lack of ability.
4. Examination of the data on a single trade, mechanical fitting, also provides indication of the filtration mechanism. There is, in addition, evidence that the geographic location of the plant at which the apprentices are employed has no influence on the pattern of parental occupations.
5. Data on attitude to their father's job showed that the sons of tradesmen who disliked their father's job did so mainly because of the working conditions

such as dirt, long hours, etc. Those who liked their father's job were mainly attracted by the intrinsic nature of the work itself. This probably provides us with some clue as to the one of the reasons for the upward mobility urge. The men in low status occupations characterized by dirt, unpleasant hours, comment on these aspects of their job to their sons or the sons themselves observe these conditions themselves. An additional incentive is thereby provided for the boy to aspire to a clean job with conventional working hours, i.e. a professional or white collar job.

NOTES AND NEWS

1. NOTES

1. Alfred Louis Kroeber

1876–1960

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The Last Day

On October 5, 1960, at fifteen minutes past midnight, Alfred Kroeber died in Paris in his eighty-fifth year, ending six decades of continuous and brilliant productivity which earned him a professional reputation second to none and the warm respect of his colleagues as the dean of anthropology.

Kroeber's last days were not very different from all the other days of his long, active life. His insatiable curiosity had not been curtailed, his writing had not slackened, and his zest for living was undiminished. During the summer of 1960, he had organized and chaired the final 1960 Wenner-Gren Conference, "Anthropological Horizons," at the Foundation's castle at Burg Wartenstein in Austria, after which he and his wife, Theodora – known to friends as Krakie – stayed over in Paris. On October 4, Kroeber had read anthropology, written, and, with Krakie, visited a museum and dined at a favorite restaurant. His last illness, resulting from a heart condition which had been incurred during World War II, came less than an hour before his death.

The fullness of Kroeber's life was manifest in many ways. He played a major role in developing American anthropology from the rather random endeavors of amateurs and self-trained men to a coherent, scientific and academic discipline. His contributions to knowledge included extensive ethnographic investigations in California and the Great Plains, archaeological studies in Mexico and Peru, linguistic research, especially in California theory of communications in the animal world generally, and historical syntheses which often had world scope.

Kroeber developed one of the world's great research museums and teaching departments of anthropology. As the impact of his influence was felt, kudos accrued to him. He was the recipient of four honorary degrees, two gold medals, and honorary membership in 16 scientific societies, and he held offices in innumerable professional organizations. These kudos resulted from undeviating dedication to scholarship. He never sought to popularize, he wrote little that was not on a serious anthropological subject, and he avoided the lecture circuits.

Formative Years

Kroeber left no autobiographical materials, except occassional notes and interviews on phases of his professional career, and he made no assessment of the major factors in his life. To a request from the National Academy of Sciences for a brief sketch of the critical influences and events that led to his professional achievements, he replied with characteristic modesty, "I do not in the least feel myself a public character." He also expressed "a certain inward reluctance about supplying for the record facts which have a personal and sometimes even intimate coloring."

Kroeber's life is best viewed in terms of his own deep conviction that living and growing things – organisms, individual persons and their minds, and cultures – are indivisible wholes which must be understood in terms of developmental tendencies without dissection into components or search for particular causes. Kroeber's childhood and youth, his emergence as a scholar, and his adult years of professional endeavor exhibit a rare continuity. There are no discernible intellectual dislocations and doubts, no dramatic discoveries, and no sharp turning points. The childhood background led naturally into the professional career, which consisted of a continuous amplification of a life-long purpose.

The social background of the man and scholar was a very special one in 19th century America. It was a German upper middle-class society of New York in which intellectual, aesthetic and scientific interests and professional aspirations were a matter of course. Prior to World War I, Americans who wished the best training in the humanities and sciences spent a few years in Germany. Kroeber found the requisite milieu in New York, and did not, in fact, visit Germany until he was thirty-nine years old. This society of New York German families was a fairly tight-knit and extensively-intermarried one, society, it shared a very special culture (though none of them thought of it as non-American), and it produced a disproportionate number of eminent scientists, writers, lawyers and other professional persons. It included families of Jewish and Protestant background, but its rationalistic orientation had eliminated religious orthodoxy. Family life and child training followed the German pattern. Children heard classical music and accompanied their parents to symphone concerts, became familiar with the finest literature and art, and attended lectures on serious subjects.

Kroeber's parents were both German-born, upper middle-class Protestants. Grandfather Kroeber had come to the United States when his son, Florence Kroeber, who had been born in Cologne, Germany, was ten years old. The date is unclear, but it was early enough that the grandfather fought in the Civil War. Florence became an importer of French clocks in New York, but affiliated himself with the German colony. Alfred Kroeber's mother, Johanna Muller, was American-born in a German family which produced many distinguished persons.

Florence and Johanna had four children, all of whom acquired a scholarly interest, especially in natural history. Alfred was the oldest. His sister, Johanna, the next oldest, graduated from Bryn Mawr College and worked in biology at the American Museum of Natural History before marrying. Edward, the third child, died at 18. Elsbeth, the youngest, first became a biology teacher in New York City high schools, and later supervisor of biology teaching in all the city schools and author of the main text book.

Alfred was born in Hoboken, New Jersey, June 11, 1876, but his family moved to New York City when he was very young. He was never entrusted to what little public schooling New York offered at that time. Until the age of nine, he was taught at home. His family spoke only German, and he learned English from servants and on the streets. He was introduced during childhood to Latin and Greek, which were considered essential to education in that period. This early experience in four languages stirred an enduring interest in linguistics. He later remarked that, as a school boy, he had been intrigued by the forms, or grammars, of languages, but had preferred Greek and Latin because English was too simple.

At nine, Alfred was placed under a private tutur, Dr. Bamberger, whom he shared with six other children. This vigorous German, who later organized the Ethical Culture Society's school in Chicago, aroused great enthusiasm in his pupils. He not only taught the three R's, but made geography lessons vivid through views from Brooklyn Bridge, stimulated interest in natural history by means of collecting expeditions in Grand Central Park, and so excited his students about classical history that, during summers on Long Island, they erected forts to fight ancient battles, such as the siege of Troy.

Kroeber's formal schooling continued in the German pattern. He was first sent to Sach's Collegiate Institute, a grammar and high school, modeled on the French lycée or German gymnasium, which prepared boys for college. Here, too, his fellow students were German boys, many of Jewish descent. Except for a year at a private boarding school in Connecticut to provide him a more out-of-door life, he continued at Sach's school until he entered Columbia in 1892 at the age of sixteen.

These formative years established the fundamental characteristics of the man: a vast range of interests with special emphasis on natural history, a love of languages, an extraordinary aesthetic perceptivity, and a strong sense of workmanship, or attention to detail and willingness to do thoroughly all the grubby little chores required of first rate scholarship. It always delighted Kroeber to discover this last trait, which is all too rare, in others.

Alsberg described the young Kroeber as shy and reserved but always an independent thinker and a dissenter. While an undergraduate at Columbia College, he and a small circle of friends founded a magazine which, though mainly literary, barred no holds on criticism of any subject, including the University. Kroeber's attack on how history was taught, Alsberg believes, may have influenced the University to appoint James Harvey Robinson to teach cultural history. If Kroeber was shy, he did not lack courage. When his friends became offended at the poor taste of the statuary in Central Park, he emphasized the point by painting the statues with bizarre adornments in lurid colors. He was traced through the source of the paint, and apprehended, but then reprimanded and released. Years later, classical statuary stored in the temporary anthropology building in Berkeley was to experience similar treatment by University of California undergraduates.

The Man

As an adult, Kroeber's acts were always well considered and his behavior impeccable; especially, in contrast to many of his contemporaries. Anthropology somehow had more than its share of colorful and unorthodox individuals, whose behavior frequently strained accepted conventions, and, during the twenties, some of the University's graduate students showed slightly more zeal than the youth of that decade in breaking with traditional mores. Kroeber never judged these people from a moral point of view, but his own course was to avoid entanglement. Occasionally he advised, even admonished, but always he sympathized and understood. There was a perpetual twinkle in his perceptive grey eyes.

During the thirty-five years that I knew Kroeber he always seemed a miraculously well-integrated, smoothly-functioning man. It was hard to imagine a person who evidenced fewer internal conflicts, worked with less lost motion, and managed more felicitously to combine an extraordinarily happy family life with monumental professional accomplishments. His economy of effort was manifest in his ability to read at high speed and absorb essentials, and to write with a rare cogency, conciseness and choice of words.

Kroeber's adult life was a continuation of the childhood and teen age pattern, which created a rare singleness of purpose. He always had boundless curiosity, and would discuss new ideas for hours, whether he agreed or not. He had an uncanny grasp of the essential qualities of poetry, art, music, and religious and philosophical ideas, which was of major importance in his characterization of cultural styles and qualities. And he had little time for the trivia of modern life – for television, moving pictures, who-dunnits, and other distractions, which Americans today either rationalize as necessary escapes or accept as essential fare. Kroeber was always self-sufficient; he had no need to cultivate hobbies in order to relax from the pressures of serious affairs. His basic interests were at once the substance and spice of life. He was always earnest and dedicated, but not solemn; intensely purposeful but not oppressively or domineeringly so. In fact, he always accepted life exuberantly, and enjoyed people and gossip enormously.

Another facet of the same character was a slowness to anger. The usual irritations of life seemed to roll off him. I knew him to be thoroughly angry only a few times, and then with ample justification. By the same token, he was intensely loyal to his friends, sometimes long after his loyalty had been betrayed.

Choosing a Profession

When Kroeber was an undergraduate, anthropology did not exist as a distinct, unified academic discipline at Columbia University. A crucial event in the history of American anthropology, and in Kroeber's life, was the appointment of Franz Boas to the faculty in 1896, which was Kroeber's senior year.

Prior to Boas' appointment, Livingston Farrand (later to become President of Cornell University) was Lecturer in physical psychology (apparent experimental psychology) in the Faculty of Philosophy and gave a course on primitive culture. W. V. Ripley, a specialist on railroad economics in the Faculty of Political Science (known for his *Races of Europe*), taught a course on physical geography and anthropology. James McKeen Cattell (founder of *Science*), who was to become close to anthropology, taught psychology. Boas had been trained as a physicist, later became a geographer, then was employed as an anthropologist at Clark University where he gave the first PhD in anthropology in America. He served at the Field Museum in Chicago, then at the American Museum of Natural History before his appointment to the Faculty of Pure

Science at Columbia University. Boas offered two main courses: Statistical Theory and American Indian Languages, which were the core of his teaching for forty years. Physical anthropology was his third course.

In 1899, anthropology along with philosophy, education and psychology was incorporated in a department and Boas was made a full professor, but the contributory offerings to anthropology remained for years in different departments and even faculties of the University. Columbia was not very different from other Universities of that era, when anthropology, which had earlier been represented only in museums, and largely by amateurs, was introduced into universities by diverse expediencies and did not at once achieve the unity we know today. To choose a career in anthropology at the turn of the century, therefore, was to commit oneself to a nebulous and insecure future. Kroeber's, later efforts to build anthropology at California confronted similar difficulties.

Kroeber entered Columbia College with interest in English and literatures in which he was encouraged by George E. Woodberry, poet and critic, who became his intimate friend by his sophomore year. Kroeber went on to take an MA degree in English in 1897 (thesis: The English Heroic Play), served as teaching assistant for two years, 1897–99, and taught a course on 18th century English literature.

Kroeber's conversion to anthropology was in part a gradual intellectual seduction. He had not taken Farrand's or Ripley's courses as an undergraduate. Sheer curiosity led him to take Boas' language seminar in 1896, but this flamed into enthusiasm the next year when the students worked with living Eskimo and Chinook informants. Especially interesting were six Eskimo whom Lt. Robert Peary brought to New York from the Central Arctic. Original research with them on language and culture led to Kroeber's first publications: Eskimo folklore in 1898 and 1899, and an Eskimo ethnology in 1900. Kroeber went on to take other courses in anthropology, and he became more deeply involved in the subject after a three month's field trip to the Arapaho in 1899. The clincher was a trip in 1900 to the Arapaho, Ute, Shoshone and Bannock. In 1899–1900, he committed himself when he accepted a fellowship in anthropology and selected psychology as his minor. Another field trip of a few months for the California Academy of Sciences was followed by the preparation and defense of his PhD dissertation in the spring of 1901.

Kroeber's gradual immersion in anthropology via his linguistic and natural history interests has something of the inevitable. But Alsberg, his closest friend at this time, discloses another motivation for his choosing anthropology and thereby an important, although largely covert, idealism. Alsberg, a chemist, argued at the time against Kroeber's going into research in a subject so "vague, inchoate and intangible," to which Kroeber replied that "a result in chemistry or physics... was not likely to affect men's thinking and to make for progress in the only way that was worth while... to free man intellectually. The confused thinking about religion was perhaps the most important bar to man's progress and freedom." Kroeber's interest in cultural values many years later was more than a humanist's view of styles or contexts. He treated the questions of objective or scientific criteria of progress quite explicitly in several papers.

Kroeber's PhD examiners were Boas, Farrand, Cattell, and Nicholas Murry Butler, professor of philosophy, who became President of Columbia University in 1902. Kroeber says the defense consisted of "outlining his 28-page dissertation, answering some questions derivative from it, avowing ignorance of a series of other fields, and being dismissed – rather to his disappointment – at the end of a pleasant hour." The thesis was on Arapaho art but clearly set forth Kroeber's basic and lifelong point of view. Kroeber's was evidently the third PhD in anthropology awarded in America (the first, A. F. Chamberlain at Clark University, 1892; the second, George Dorsey at Harvard University).

Building Anthropology at California

Kroeber began his professional career at the University of California in Berkeley in 1901. The achievements in building a department and museum in the face of the uncertainties, insecurities and frustrations that confronted a young anthropologist at the turn of the century merit kudos as great as those from scholarly accomplishments. The secure academic and scientific niche which anthropology holds today was won through considerable pioneering toil, sacrifice and imagination by the first generation of Boas' students. Kroeber and his contemporaries went to academic positions that were vaguely defined and offered meager and uncertain financial support.

This early period of American anthropology was, however, marked by a fundamental trend to which Kroeber repeatedly called attention. Rather parallel in different institutions, it deeply affected the employment of anthropologists and the nature of their work. At first everywhere a museum subject, anthropology acquired two components: one, natural science, concerned with collections, classification, and natural history; the other, humanistic, concerned especially with aesthetic features that lent themselves to exhibits. The third component, social science, came later after anthropology became associated with economics, sociology, political science, psychology, and geography in the universities. These three components were to make anthropology unique in its three-fold affiliation with research councils: the National Research Council, owing especially to physical anthropology and archaeology, the Social Science Research Council, owing to ethnography and ethnology; and the American Council of Learned Societies, owing to its interests in art, history, values and other humanistic studies.

These comments on the development of anthropology are more than parenthetical in assessing Kroeber's life work. Kroeber was extraordinarily perceptive of these intellectual trends in America, and his six decades of developmental and organizational chores as well as scholarly work in knitting these components into a single fabric were a major factor creating the foundation affiliations and establishing the identity and acceptance of anthropology, which enabled students of later generations to choose this profession without excessive confusion or risk. Kroeber, however, never really embraced the social science component of anthropology. His interests were natural history and the humanities.

The initial impetus to anthropology at California was given by Mrs. Phoebe Hearst, a regent of the university and mother of William Randolph Hearst, the publisher. Interested in art and cultural objects, she planned to build a museum for the university and undertook to obtain collections for it. In 1899, she made personal contracts with Max Uhle to bring collections from Peru (much of this material was published later by Kroeber and his students and led to Kroeber's field trips to Peru in the twenties), with George Reisner to work in Egypt, and with Alfred Emerson to do classical archaeology in Greece and Rome. Mrs. Hearst's interest encouraged President B. I. Wheeler of the University of California to create a Museum and Department of Anthropology in 1901. F. I. Putnam, who was then dividing his time between the Peabody Museum at Harvard and the American Museum of Natural History, was persuaded to serve during summer months as director of the Museum, but he was then 62 and his health soon removed him from very active participation.

In 1901 Kroeber and P. E. Goddard, who had been a lay missionary among the Hupa Indians, were appointed university instructors, and Mrs. Hearst paid their salaries for five years at $ 1200 per annum. Each taught one semester, but their principal jobs were to investigate the diversified and little-known languages and cultures of native California. Some five or six years later they taught both semesters, and Kroeber was appointed assistant professor and paid from university funds. Teaching accumulated such momentum that they were able to award Samuel Barrett a PhD in anthropology in 1908.

An important achievement during these early years while Putnam was still active was the establishment of the University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology. Goddard's *Life and Culture of the Hupa*, in 1903, was the first paper. Later volumes contained papers by Kroeber and many others, giving priority to California Indians but eventually covering a much wider area. This series is perhaps second in volume only to the publications of the Bureau of American Ethnology, which was begun some thirty years earlier.

The story of the museum and departmental facilities was to be one of heart break and delay. Mrs. Hearst, whose fortune had come from the Homestead Mine (not from the publishing business), encountered financial difficulties, and the funds planned for the museum – it is thought some $ 1,500,000 – were deflected to her son who would presumably honor her commitments after her death in 1919. Instead, Mr. Hearst eventually financed the construction of a women's gymnasium, which, ironically, loomed impressively from the windows of the "temporary" anthropology building.

This temporary building, well known to students and visitors to the campus until after World War II, was nothing more than a corrugated iron warehouse, constructed in 1902 to store Mrs. Hearst's collections. In 1903, the anthropology collections were moved to the unused law building of the Affiliated Colleges in San Francisco, which was then a private enterprise and included what later became the University of California Medical School. Owing to fire hazard, the museum was provided with living quarters so that a caretaker could always be present. The collections were returned to the Berkeley campus in 1931 and stored in a former engineering building.

The original corrugated iron building housed the Department of Anthropology from 1902 until it was moved into another temporary building after World War II. In these modern days of critical shortage of school space it is perhaps rash to say that the Department of Anthropology at Berkeley poignantly illustrates the old saying that buildings do not constitute a university. The absurdly inadequate facilities of the warehouse, known for many years as the "Tin Tank", did not perceptibly handicap Kroeber's own research nor prevent the staff from giving solid training to graduate students, more than forty of whom received PhD's in anthropology before the Department was moved.

The physical quarters of the Department truly verged on the ludicrous. The building, measuring only 60 by 80 feet, was a great hollow two stories in height. The ends of the ground floor were partitioned off for a seminar room and offices, and an encircling balcony gave access to offices installed against the walls at second floor height. The center of the hollow was filled with life-size replicas of classical statuary, which though protected by wire netting, were somehow frequently ornamented by students. There was a seminar room and a lecture hall accomodating something like eighty students on the second floor. This was a serviceable hall, but lectures were constantly interrupted when misdirected tennis balls from the faculty court adjoining the building landed on the iron roof and bounced leisurely off.

The hope for a new building that would accommodate both the Museum and the Department was kept alive, however, and the dream was finally realized in 1960 when the departmental offices, library, teaching facilities and museum – The Robert H. Lowie Museum – were housed in the Kroeber Building, which also included the Art Museum. Happily, Kroeber was present at the dedication on May 5 of that year.

After joining the university staff in 1901, Kroeber divided his time between Berkeley and San Francisco. He became secretary of anthropology and eventually head of the Department. At Putnam's death in 1909, he became curator of the Museum. His principal activities, however, centered in San Francisco, where he lived until 1917.

The San Francisco period was productive in research and in building museum collections from the Indians of California, but it was a time of personal tragedy. Kroeber married Henrietta Rothschild in 1906, but she contracted tuberculosis and died in 1913 after five years of lingering illness. His meager salary had barely sufficed to meet doctors' bills. Three years later, the death of Ishi, also had a strong personal impact on Kroeber. Ishi was a Yana Indian, the last survivor of his tribe, who had been found in a completely wild and aboriginal state in the Sierra foothills and housed for a number of years at the Museum, where he contracted tuberculosis.

Kroeber moved to the Faculty Club on the Berkeley campus in 1917, when the teaching department had so grown as to demand more attention. Various people came and went before the permanent staff was established. N. C. Nelson succeeded Goddard in 1909 and remained two years. T. T. Waterman, whose colorful personality and vivid teaching made him one of the legendary figures of his time, served in various capacities between 1907 and 1918, when he entered the army. Boas, Wallis, Sapir, Spier, Radin, Barrows and others taught for brief periods. Lowie, who had been visiting lecturer in 1917–18, was permanently appointed in 1921. Edward Gifford, an ornithologist by training, took over responsibility for the Museum, and also taught. Kroeber, Lowie and Gifford constituted the permanent teaching staff during the twenties.

Prior to 1926, California had given only two PhD's in anthropology. When I entered the graduate school in the fall of 1925 on the advice of Livington Farrand, then President of Cornell University, Duncan Strong, Forest Clements, Ann Gayton, Theodora Krakow Brown, and Lloyd Warner were well into graduate work, Ralph Beals, Ronald Olson and I were starting, and W. W. Hill, Isabel Kelly, Theodore McCown and others were interested.

Theodora, or Krakie, was an attractive widow with two young sons, Clifton and Theodore. In Kroeber's seminar during the spring of 1926 she and I were assigned jointly the problem of working out element distributions on North American Indian hockey and other field games. I was never quite sure what became of our intellectual endeavors, but the semester terminated in a momentous event for Kroeber. The whole department was equally astonished and happy to learn that he and Krakie had been privately married.

This marriage was one of the happiest I have ever seen. Krakie, whose warmth and constant good nature endeared her to everyone, was the ideal anthropologist's wife and perfect complement for Kroeber. They were rarely separated, even while their four children, Carl and Ursula who were their own, together with Ted and Clifton, were growing up. Krakie and Alfred moved to a spacious, informal redwood house in north Berkeley, where Alfred's study, entered by an outside door, became his inviolable sanctum. Marriage in no way slowed Kroeber's professional output, nor did his productivity interfere with a warm family life or preclude a happy social life with their innumerable friends.

The Kroebers spent their summers in Kishimish, a cottage, in the Napa Valley, California, where a visitor was welcomed or sped on his way by furious clanging on an iron triangle. At Kishimish, he was likely to encounter Kroeber working with a favorite Yurok informant when not playing croquet with the children.

During the thirties, the number of students at Berkeley increased rapidly and the faculty expanded. Previously, the Department had taught basic fact and theory, but no specialized courses. Kroeber liked especially to deal with civilizations in which archaeology and ethnology were not distinguished. Despite his tremendous interest in linguistics, he offered no formal courses in the subject. His reason for not giving specialized courses was that of Boas, whom he quoted, "If they have shown that they are good men, they should be given their degrees, after which they will learn what they need." If, owing to limited teaching personnel, the choice had to be made between basic knowledge and specialized skills, wisdom favored the former. It must be confessed, however, that several of us made a considerable hash of our first attempts to do archaeology and that nearly all of us avoided linguistic field work.

The need for more specialized skills was remedied in the thirties. Ronald Olson was appointed especially to take charge of the large introductory course. Later, Theodore McCown joined the faculty to teach Old World archaeology and physical anthropology. New World archaeology including California which had been rather neglected, was accorded due attention after the appointment of Robert Heizer. Eventually, the Department filled out with specialists in other topics and in areas.

Its offering continued to attract graduate students. Between 1926 and 1930, California awarded seven PhD's in anthropology, and between 1931 and Kroeber's retirement in 1946, it gave 25. Since 1946, it has given 57.

In 1936, when Kroeber's sixtieth birthday was celebrated with a festschrift volume (see footnote 1), his professional accomplishments were more than sufficient to insure a lasting reputation. But twenty-five more productive years lay ahead. During World War II, a heart attack was nearly fatal, but meticulous care of his health thereafter enabled him to carry on with his usual efficiency and much the same vigor. Retirement from the University of California in

1946 at the age of 70 brought teaching offers from all parts of the country. First, however, in the spring of 1946 the Kroebers went to England where he received the Huxley Medal. After spending the next year in Berkeley, they visited Columbia University for summer school, then spent a year at Harvard in 1947–48. From 1948 to 1952, he was visiting professor at Columbia, and in early summer, 1952, organized the Wenner-Gren World Conference on anthropology held in New York. In 1955–56, he was a fellow of the Center for Advanced Studies in the Behavioral Sciences at Stanford, California, and in 1956–57 a visiting professor at Brandeis University. Yale? Cornell? Messenger Lectures on "Style and Civilization." He visited the Center at Stanford again in 1958, and in the fall of 1959 had a major role in the Darwin Centennial symposia and conference at the University of Chicago. The Kroebers returned to Berkeley, and then attended the summer conference in Austria in 1960. He had planned a seminar at Berkeley on the Indians of California for the fall of 1960.

The Scholar and Scientist: Theoretical Views

If one accepts Kroeber's date of 1860 for the beginning of "organized anthropology," his professional activities covered six tenths of the history of anthropology. They expectably reflect trends of a half century ago, and yet Kroeber's interests were so deeply individual, so strongly marked by his bent for natural history, and so pervasively colored by his intuition and aesthetic perceptivity that to attempt to describe a "Kroeber school of anthropology" or to explain his intellectual position as a systematic, scientific methodology would gravely misrepresent him. It is even now premature to assess his influence on anthropology.

Kroeber not only had an insatiable curiosity about phenomena of all kinds, but he insistently viewed them in contexts, matrices, or wholes. What was not part of a living or developing whole did not interst him, and he even found it repugnant to dissect an animal in order to study its organs in isolation. His life-long endeavor or problem was to understand the nature of the contexts of phenomena. In cultural studies, this meant a primary interest in total systems of human behavior and in how to conceptualize these systems. He described himself as primarily – "congenitally" – a humanist and a natural historian, or natural scientist, and he expressly repudiated any contention, or at least disavowed interest in the contention, that cultural analysis could employ the method of the physical sciences. That is, a method which isolates phenomena in order to discover particular causes and effects. Any studies he made of parts of culture always had the "adhering context" in mind.

Kroeber also disclaimed a social science orientation: "It is clear that I am not by temperament a social scientist" (1952). This statement, however, seems to reflect partly a disinclination to deal with problems of human welfare, which strongly oriented much social science, (although he had a certain concern with human progress), and partly his own intellect roots in the strong humanistic and natural science components of anthropology during his youth, when the social science component was still nebulous. Perhaps most importantly, Kroeber's lack of social science orientation meant that his interest in structure and function and in the microscopic analyses involved therein had secondary importance, or at least never had primary importance, in the characterization of whole cultures.

Kroeber's early interest in languages, natural history, and contexts predisposed him to accept those precepts of Boas' teaching that have become basic in American anthropology. In Boas, he found advocacy of unrelenting empiricism, which repudiated the earlier deductive systematizers and theoreticians who had arranged cultural data in various apriori categories and developmental schemes. He found Boas' stress upon fact over theory and therefore upon the primary importance of intensive first-hand ethnographic field work congenial. Probably no anthropologist has spent as many years as Kroeber collecting and dealing with original cultural data or furthering field research programs.

Kroeber also followed Boas in the holistic and cultural relativistic view: the concept that each cultural pattern or configuration is unique, different from all others, and comprehensible only in terms of itself. His interest in this view involved him in a lifetime of inquiry about the "nature of culture."

Kroeber differed from Boas in several crucial respects. Deeply interested from childhood in history, he added time depth to the essentially synchronic ethnology of Boas and most of his students, who were less opposed to than uninterested in utilizing historical data. Kroeber was virtually alone in his uncompromising insistence that culture should be conceptualized in Herbert Spencer's terms as phenomena of a superorganic level: that culture derives from culture and that conceptualizations or explanations – "reductionism" – which introduce psychological, organic or environmental factors are indefensible. Kroeber's history was superorganic and supra-individual; it was deterministic and had no place for the great man theory. A similar view was later expounded by Leslie White, who expressed it as "culturology."

Kroeber's life-long position was clearly set forth in his doctoral dissertation on Arapaho art published in 1901: just as any art simultaneously manifest tendencies of geometric forms to become symbols of realism and realistic forms to become conventionalized or geometric designs, so any culture consists of interrelated tendencies which "are both eternally living and everlastingly changing. They flow into one another; they transform themselves; they are indistinguishably combined where they coexist."

The difficulty of cultural relativism was that recognition and diagnosis of the style that permeates or characterizes each configuration or overall pattern were highly subjective and intuitive. Each scholar could devise his own terms and view culture according to his individual interests. Boas had written of "styles", of "fundamental psychic attitudes", and of the influence of cultural practices upon "man's mental life." This was less reductionism to a psychological level of characterization than concern with cultural attitudes manifest in the typical individual. Allpervasive attitudes are glimpsed in some of Boas' ethnographies, but they are far from explicit. Benedict, in *Patterns of Culture*, was more satisfyingly explicit in her use of analogies drawn from Greek mythology, such as Dionysian for the pervading frenzy alleged to have characterized Plains Indian behavior and Apollonian as descriptive of the serenity of the Pueblo, and her book continues to be a best seller. But such recourse was a matter of personal taste, and even mythical allusions might be exhausted before all of the world's cultures were diagnosed in this manner. More importantly, Benedict's characterizations completely omitted structural features of her societies.

Kroeber sympathized with Benedict's humanistic characterization of wholes, but denied that "pattern" was an integrating factor and he not only conceived style as more than aesthetic or literary characterizations of psychological attitudes, but eventually, if incidentally, introduced some structural characteristics. In the higher civilizations at least, he saw not one but many styles. In 1951, he described style as "a selfconsistent way of behaving... selected out from among alternatively possible ways... And it is selective with references to values"; that is, culture ascribes special value to particular themes or interests (1952, p. 402). He distinguished styles from "reality culture", that is, ways of living, including technology, and from "social structure and relations" (see below.). "The style [also called "cultural style pattern" (p. 407)] successively forms, develops, matures, decays, and either dissolves or atrophies into a dead petrification" (p. 403), or it may disintegrate and reconstitute itself. Its history is irreversible. "*The causes of qualities and values are... difficult to find. We can do little more than describe the circumstances around which a style forms*" (p. 403, italics mine). The styles – pattern values or directions – of the High Middle Ages of Europe after 900 A.D. included: total commitment to Christianity, a sense of nationalism, Romanesque-Gothic architecture, glass staining, sculpture, revival of learning, Scholastic philosophy. This was followed by the beginning of the Modern Western Civilization: wider geographic knowledge, trade, civilian architecture, painting, weakening of the Church, development of science, new kinds of philosophy, and printing (pp. 405–407).

Kroeber's conception of culture, thus, was inseparably a part of his sense of history, and his erudition made him uniquely competent to take the grand view. He constantly saw changes in styles as flows and continua, pulses, culminations and diminutions, convergences and divergences, and divisions, blends and cross-currents by which cultures develop and mutually influence one another. He dealt with culture history in all parts of the world and in all periods from the Palaeolithic to the present day.

Kroeber's uncompromising insistence that culture is superorganic influenced his views on psychology and anthropology. As an anthropologist, he was no more interested in the effect of culture upon the individual (the culture and personality approach) than the individual upon culture (the great man theory of history). During the nineteen thirties, the cultural and personality approach began to offer a means of placing the characterization of cultural contexts upon a psychological rather than stylistic basis. These studies, which at first were based strongly upon psychoanalysis, assumed that cultural personality types were formed during childhood, owing to specific socializing processes and were later projected into cultural patterns of adult life. Kroeber had taken a graduate minor in psychology, he had read psychoanalysis during his early professional years, he had been psychoanalyzed for three months in 1920, he had maintained an office and practiced psychoanalysis successfully in San Francisco between 1921 and 1923, and he abandoned the practice only because of the pressure of university duties. But he remained uncompromisingly opposed to reductionism. Personality problems at a psychological level which he regarded as directed toward "personality betterment" (1952, p. 108), were a different matter than cultural problems at a superorganic or sociocultural level.

One of his greatest works, *Configurations of Culture Growth* (19), deals with the essentially superorganic nature of culture, especially with respect to individual geniuses, who cluster at high points or climaxes of human history. Like his studies of women's fashions, the intent was to show that culture changes according to its own tendencies. He was not concerned, as some have thought, with any inherent periodicity or regularity in rhythms of particular phenomena. He saw the general periodicity of change in dresses as an exemplification of "fashions", which is a large category of potentially variable features that respond to more central modifications, such as societal stresses. *Configurations of Culture Growth* was especially designed to show that individual achievements express but do not explain cultural climaxes. Inherent individual ability was given scope by high points of civilization, and obversely the scarcity of great men during periods of cultural decline or dark ages was the function of contexts that caused genius to remain latent.

It is as a social scientist that Kroeber is most difficult to assess. In 1940, he explained that by "natural science" he meant an approach that was "empirical, inductive, and free of any motivation of applicability or social control" (p. 151), although this could also characterize much social science. More to the point, he often cited linguistic studies as the rationale of his view of culture. Parts of speech would lose meaning if isolated from the grammars, or structures of language; language forms cannot be explained by psychological processes operating through particular individuals; they are significant essentially in their historicity. (See "Causes in Culture," 1952, pp. 107–109). He concluded that standard ethnography, archaeology and culture history in terms both of disparate traits or culture elements and of wholes follows the methodology of language studies, whereas "in contrast, consciously functional anthropology, social anthropology, and sociology tend to be non-historical, reductionist, and interested in cause," (1952, p. 107).

This dichotomy is more a declaration of Kroeber's personal interests than of inherent logic. A functional-historical approach is conceivable, and some of us have used it. Reductionism may indeed be necessary if one is interested in breaking out of the culture-comes-from-culture formulation and in seeking causes or processes, such as the effects of demographic trends or ecological adaptations upon culture; but regularities may also be formulated in purely culturological terms. Kroeber also contended that "the functional approach is more concerned with timeless process than with basic relations." While all functions are by no means necessarily timeless, it is true that process is normally an abstraction derived from more than one culture and therefore partly removed from the reality of particulars. Kroeber further observed that this approach is concerned "more with cause than with pattern (p. 107)" and "with society rather than with culture" (p. 108); which is to say that Kroeber was concerned more with style than with structure.

What this signifies, I believe, is that Kroeber's incredibly vast knowledge and fertile imagination led him to the macroscopic or grand view, and not that such a view requires a different conceptualization of culture than the microscopic view. Primary concern with wholes is inevitably macroscopic. Cultural relativism can deal with wholes in terms of unique styles, whereas, characterization of structures, which developed later in the history of anthropology, more fruitfully begins with particulars of individual cases and with detailed processes and gradually generalizes broader categories. The structuralists have, perhaps, been overly cautious in postulating types of society that have comparative and evolutionary significance. The lack of a coherent taxonomy and of any concensus regarding taxonomic criteria became painfully evident during the last few years owing to participation of anthropologists in various Darwin centennials which dealt with cultural as well as with biological evolution. Kroeber noted in 1959 at the University of Chicago Darwin Centennial that anthropology is pre-Linnaean taxonomically. Earlier characterizations of culture used ethos, styles, values, patterns and other relativistic diagnostics, which were inherently ill-adapted for a comparative or developmental taxonomy that would disclose processes of change. Until the nineteen-thirties, folk-lore, religion, art and other humanistic aspects of culture had, in fact, a far more central place than structure in cultural studies.

Kroeber's awareness of the confused status of cultural taxonomy and evolution, however, did not lead him to postulate abstract, cross-cultural categories based primarily upon structure. Characteristically, he approached problems of structures via cultural wholes, but he suggested crucial hypotheses in several papers. These contributions have received far too little attention, partly because his repeated disavowals of interest in delimited problems and in causality obscured the implications of his work, partly because his positive formulations and hypotheses were usually stated as highly provisional and often submerged in the raw data of great substantive monographs, but mainly perhaps because he was disinclined to be argumentative and rarely indulged in sufficient forensic zeal and repetition of a thesis.

Kroeber was never indifferent to any trend in anthropology, however, and early in his career he dealt with the problem of structure as it was then phrased: the relationship between kinship terms, marriage rules, and descent groups. This problem derived from the 19th century theories, which postulated that kinship terms reflected marriage systems that had existed in the past if not in the present. None really dealt with whole societies, such as bands, hordes, communities, tribes or other units of interpersonal relationships conceived sociologically. In 1909, Kroeber's *Classifactory Systems of Relationship* had warned against regarding kinship terms as reflections of sociological systems – especially marriage systems – when several different relatives were designated by the same term, and suggested that the terms had linguistic rather than sociological connotation and that they were psychological extensions of terms to several categories of people. In 1917, his *Zuni Kin and Clan*, one of the first major field studies directed to kinship problems, emphasized the error of supposing that a strong clan system necessarily precluded a nuclear family system or indicated that the matrilineal clan developed before the family. He also questioned the inference that a high correlation between certain kinds of exogamous organizations and classificatory systems proved a causal connection between these isolated phenomena. Skeptical that a single sociological factor could explain a particular phenomenon, he suggested that both exogamy and kinship terms more broadly express descent systems and tendencies of the total context. He made a similar point neatly in an introductory course when he pointed out that beerdrinking, eating of sauerkraut, and love of certain kinds of music had a high correlation in Germany, but were related only within the historical context and not conceivably by direct causal effect of one upon another.

His *Basic and Secondary Patterns of Social Organization* (1938) relates problems of kinship systems to the larger question of what is basic or primary and what is secondary in a total culture. It offers an hypothesis for cultural taxonomy that ascribes major importance to structural features and their transformations. Starting with Radcliffe-Brown's Australian data, he uses a kind of age-area method to infer sequential change from distributions of marriage and kinship systems, and then postulates that, in the social organization of primitive people generally, patterns of group residence and subsistence associations may be primary, or invariant, whereas clans, moieties, marriage classes, totems, and other elaborations may be secondary or "unstable embroideries on the primary patterns" (p. 308).

The central question of what is basic and stable, and what is secondary – what is the central core and what are the variable and peripheral features – ran though several other works which bear crucially on the problem of cultural taxonomy. Earlier, he had found that so emotionladen a custom as method of disposing of the dead changed with surprising ease. His several studies of changes in women's fashions also had the central theme of relative changeability. He finally postulated a general dichotomy: first, "relatively primary and stable patterns and constituents of cultures"; and, second, features which are "relatively secondary, unstable, within the field of innovation from internal cultural causes and perhaps more readily invested with conscious group emotions." (p. 309)

This states a problem of cultural change and offers a taxonomic generalization. The problem is amenable to scientific method rather than mere intuitive insights but it is especially difficult because it involves whole cultures rather than social structures. The problem is to ascertain the invariant and variant features within a culture area or within a time span. "On the basis of the conception I submit that, in addition to unilateral descent reckoning, much of the formalized social organization of primitive peoples is in the nature of unconscious experiment and play of fashions rather than the core or substance of their culture. In certain cases, as in Australia, it may well represent the pinnacle of their achievement, just as experimentation and play with abstractions, words and plastic forms resulted in the pinnacles of Greek civilization, while science, technology, or exploitation of nature are those of our own. But the pinnacles are end products, not bases." (p. 309)

He came at the problem of differential stability again in 1951 in discussing sociologists' distinctions between society and culture. He stated "There seems to be a certain importance in the conceptual distinction between"... "reality culture" and "value culture," the former including science, technology, and on occasion other aspects of culture, the latter including ethos, morality, art and other expressions of value. Reality culture is "largely diffusional and accumulative;" value culture is "ever re-creative." "A third major segment, the societal, seems to be neither specifically accumulative nor specifically creative" (in 1952, p. 165). Language is a fourth segment. An earlier essay in 1942 even suggested causality in rather basic social transformations from primitive emphasis upon kinship ties to political organization of civilized people. "A rather vital nexus of political organization through economics with technological development can be inferred. Primitives being weak in the latter remained weak in the former" (in 1952, p. 225). His essay of 1951 however, seems indifferent to the distinction between kinship and politically-organized societies in concluding that one way of subdividing cultures is about as good as another.

In short, Kroeber remained a holist and relativist at heart. In the fina analysis he saw in each culture an unique emphasis upon one or several bands in the total spectrum of possible human behavior, wherein kinship systems, types of sculpture, science and philosophy were equally important criteria. The microscopic analyses that preoccupy the sociologically-inclined were mere parts – somewhat indeterminant parts – of the whole. To have attempted a cross cultural typology of cultures on the basis of any criteria would have required a degree of abstraction and loss of concreteness that made him suspicious of any generalizations. As Benedict once observed, any attempt to group the relativistically unique cultures in broader and broader categories must logically end in the simplest statement that "all groups of men had culture."

Substantive Works

While Kroeber's substantive works are only partly separable from his theoretical contributions, the former are perhaps best known, though not necessarily of greatest importance. The distribution of his publications by subject and year is instructive.

In total number, the ethnology of California naturally ranks first with more than 70 papers. The peak was in the nineteen twenties and thirties but the interest continued throughout his life. Essays on languages, especially of California, are a close second, and eventually they exceeded ethnology. Articles and monographs essentially on theory, although always massively substantive, exceed the previous categories, and if general works are included, they number more than 80. Interestingly, these show two peaks: one in the nineteen-tens, with the first probings; the other, between 1940 and 1960, began when Kroeber was 54 years old. Science is clearly indebted to his longevity, for most of the incisive delineations and elaborations of his views were presented after most persons have reached their peak and many were presented after his retirement. Writings on American Indian cultures were also interpretative and theoretical, and these acquired momentum after 1920. They reached a peak in the 1930's, except that Peru, one of his special fields, was the subject of some 25 articles between 1920 and 1960. Folklore, which constituted 13 papers between 1898 and 1910 thereafter was reduced to 7 papers, and art, his PhD dissertation subject, was the main theme of only 4 papers in his lifetime.

Kroeber was never a physical anthropologist, and, although he summarized basic information in his *Anthropology*, his publications on the subject were negligible. He also had not special predisposition for archaeological field work. Peruvian culture history is based on archaeology, which he fully utilized, but his own field research in the area was restricted. His total archaeological output, apart from Peru, is not over 20 papers.

This distribution of effort indicates first, a substantive interest directed initially toward California cultures and languages, later toward the Western Hemisphere and Peru in particular, and eventually toward world culture history and major civilizations; and second, the unfolding of a point of view, which he might express in a discussion of arrow-release distributions, changes in burial customs, practices concerning dogs, salt and tobacco in California, fashions in women's dress, the novel in Asia and Europe, or in terms of major historic trends, which dealt not only with world phenomena but with such interpreters as Spengler, Toynbee and other historians. These bolder efforts came mainly within the last three decades of his life.

One of Kroeber's greatest works was the *Handbook of the Indians of California* published in 1925. This thousand-page volume, which has long been a collector's item, is not only a compendium of everything known about the Indians at that time but sets forth culture areas and subareas and their historic implications. Such ordering of data had been anticipated in a paper in 1907 on the religions and religious cults of California, by several other topical studies, and in 1923 by an essay on the history of California cultures. Whereas his contemporary, Clark Wissler, delineated native New World culture areas about this same time mainly in terms of technological adaptations to distinctive environments, Kroeber tended to emphasize religious organization and belief.

Kroeber's concept of culture and culture areas, however, were two-fold: first, that an area, or society within an area, has an agglomeration of culture elements which have no other necessary connection than the historical, or diffusional, fact of clustering territorially, and, second, historical patterns or "adhering contexts" are characterized by special styles or emphases. Much of his substantive work dealt with element distributions. Areas so defined were given time depth by construing the distributions as historical adhesions, layered as in a cake. The most widely-spread elements represented the oldest layer, which had been supplemented, or supplanted, by increments which introduced greater complexity and which modified patterns in more restricted areas, or more recent historical layers. His *Peoples of the Philippines* (1919) had followed a very similar method.

By the nineteen-thirties, Kroeber and his associates began to sense a defect in the element distribution method, which had utilized lists of traits to show variations and culminations within certain aspects of culture and to show similarities between tribes. Too often, particular elements had not been mentioned at all in ethnographies, so that neither their presence or absence was certain. In 1934 the late Stanislaw Klimek came to California from Poland with a statistical formula, which, though devised for biometrics, purported to express the similarity between any two societies as a coefficient of correlation based upon mutually present and absent traits. Klinek's formula underlined the inadequacy of comparable data for all tribes; and Kroeber obtained funds for an ambitious four-year field project of element list surveys which was carried out by 13 field workers and included 254 tribes and tribal subdivisions west of the Rocky Mountains. The lists ranged from 3,000 to more than 6,000 elements, the presence and absence of which were recorded for each local groups.

An important, though little stressed by-product of the survey was the demonstration that so-called "tribes" varied so much internally that "tribe" which was initially defined linguistically ceased to be a meaningful unit of study.

The territorial plotting of element distributions raised questions about the mechanism of diffusion of each element, which had usually been conceived as a fairly simple process through which one society transmitted cultural features to another merely because of contiguity. Kroeber modified this concept in his article, *Stimulus Diffusion* (19), by showing that cultural products may be imitated by peoples who had no direct contact with their originators. It is incredible that assessment of the many kinds of conditions and contexts of diffusion have today gone little beyond Kroeber's formulations.

The California element surveys could only suggest cultural emphases, styles or configurations, which interested Kroeber so much, and they could record little of social structures which had not been conceptualized or classified so as to be amenable to such recording. My own part in this survey dealt with the Paiute and Shoshoni, whose element lists had to be published separately from structural and cultural-ecological analyses. The best I could do theoretically with the lists was to suggest invariant or core features and variable features of the culture of each group. After the surveys had been made, Kroeber did not push this method. He went on to other matters.

About 1920, Kroeber had decided to broaden his own field of substantive research beyond California, the Plains and Zuñi. He first visited Mexico, and in 1924 he visited Peru, following up interests arising from Max Uhle's collections. He returned to Peru in 1926, and on later occasions. He always kept abreast of all Americanist research, but Peru became his special interest. His aesthetic perceptivity was especially important in sensing the stylistic relationships in Peruvian ceramics and other art manifestations that helped establish a stylistic chronology – a skeletal framework for determining time and place relationships of associated materials – upon which other understandings, e.g. social and political, depended.

Kroeber's enlarged interests in cultural areas and cultural continuities led to another of his major works, *Cultural and Natual Areas in Native North America* (1939). By this time, so much was known about American Indians that no one but Kroeber, now the leading Americanist, would presume to synthesize the knowledge in a single work. When major cooperative works were written on special areas, such as meso-America (*The Maya and the Neighbors*), Kroeber was usually asked to write the summary, interpretative chapter. *Cultural and Natural Areas* not only delineated cultural areas (without statistical techniques) but related them to natural areas and, more importantly, introduced the concept of cultural climax. Earlier element distribution studies had employed the concept of culture centers within areas, which were more complex and therefore presumed to be more inventive, and of margins, which were the simple, uninventive peripheral recipients of cultural achievements. Kroeber's concept of cultural climax avoided the implication that greatest complexity meant the locus of inventiveness, and called attention instead to cultural intensification.

Apart from the theoretical questions of culture area, inventiveness and diffusion, Kroeber was always interested in the problems of prehistory within these ethnographically defined areas, which do not coincide with areas defined by element distributions. While archaeologists were grappling with this problem in terms of the "co-tradition" concept, Kroeber was expanding the culture area concept to that of "spheres" of influence", such as "the Greater Southwest" and "the South Asia sphere". This reflected his predisposition to look for element distributions, areas of influence, and territories explainable by cultural diffusion.

On the comparatively solid ground of describing areas or spheres in terms of element content and emphasis, rather than configuration, Kroeber continued to enlarge his historical interpretations. He interpreted cultural development in the Western Hemisphere much as he had done in California. Later, in his Huxley lecture, "The Oikoumene", 1946, he delineated the cultural particulars that distinguished the Old World from the New World. Underlying such global interpretations was vast knowledge of cultural history during all periods and a sense of what was important. This knowledge was especially organized in Kroeber's mind in terms of diffusion and distributions. Thus, his first edition of *Anthropology*, 1923, devoted a long detailed chapter to the diffusion of the alphabet. This same interest motivated his encouragement of his own students to make distributional studies, which culminated – perhaps reached the end of a cul de sac – in the element list surveys.

Finally, Kroeber's *Anthropology* (edition of 1948) is probably the most important single work ever written in anthropology. It was first published in 1923 as a modest introductory text because there had been no general summary since E. B. Tylor's *Anthropology* of 1881. For many years, it was the principal text for introductory courses in the United States. The new edition of 1948 became something else. This 850 page book gives a basic resumé of nearly all recent fields of anthropology, incisive appraisals of new trends, and statements of Kroeber's own views on subjects previously published elsewhere together with many points not made before. In general, the 1948 edition is beyond the comprehension of freshmen and sophomores but constitutes a basic survey of modern anthropology which well serves PhD candidates and others wishing a sophisticated view.

Summary

This memoir has attempted to assess the main points of Kroeber's thinking. In spite of having studied under Kroeber and carefully read his works during subsequent years, I find that re-readings always reveal, basic problems and brilliant insights previously overlooked. This is so despite our ostensible disagreement on the fundamental question of causality in anthropology. At the end of my first year of graduate study at California, feeling stuffed with undigested facts, I asked Kroeber what courses would give these data scientific interpretation. He was aghast for a moment, then puzzled me by replying that I had been given their essential relationships. Frequently in later years he gently chided me for seeking causes. I remain convinced that causes, explanations or processes which are not peculiar to each relativistically unique culture can be indentified, and I think my contention is supported by a mounting body of causal hypothese. That no process operates in isolation is beside the point. Kroeber's relativistic view and interest in wholes did not prevent him from touching on interpretations that I would not hesitate to classify as hard science. His unpretentious summary of the parallel developments of the early Old World and New World civilization in *Anthropology* (1948), for example, comes as near to a formulation of causality, or process that operated cross-culturally, as can be made even while disavowing such intent. Kroeber raised basic scientific problems with which anthropology has barely begun to deal. Foremost among these problems is that of classifying whole cultures. Parts of culture, such as social systems or categories of religious concepts, are amenable to cross-cultural classification. A taxonomy of whole cultures has proved to be extremely difficult; perhaps it is impossible. Yet Kroeber went vastly farther than anyone else in attempting it.[1]

[1] For much of the personal information, I have drawn upon several unpublished manuscripts written by Kroeber in 1958 and 1959 for the Bencroft Library: "Early Anthropology at Columbia," "Teaching Staff [at California]" and the typescript of an interview.

2. Wenner-Gren Foundation Symposium on Teaching of Anthropology

As a part of its Summer Symposia Program, the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropology Research organized an International Symposium on *Teaching of Anthropology* at Burg Wartenstein, the European headquarters of the Foundation, from August 9 to August 16, 1960. Ten excellent papers, prepared by selected invitees and distributed well in advance to all the participants, formed the basis of discussions, which were focused mainly on the aims and methods of teaching anthropology.

On the first day David Mandelbaum (U.S.A.) presented a report on the Educational Resources in Anthropology Project (ERA) which he is directing under a grant from the National Science Foundation of the United States. The report surveyed the ground covered by twentytwo papers and discussions at eight symposia on the teaching of Anthropology organized during the spring of 1960 in the United States.

On the second day Raymond Firth (U.K.) summarized his paper on "Aims and Methods in the Teaching of Social Anthropology." V. L. Grottanelli (Italy) was the main discussant of his paper. This was followed, in the afternoon session, by a paper on "Aims and Methods in the Teaching of Archaeology and Culture History" by Gjessing (Norway). Main discussant for this paper was Heizer (U.S.A.).

Lounsbury (U.S.A.) offered his paper on "Aims and Methods in the Teaching of Linguistics" in the morning session on the third day. Discussion on the paper was initiated by Birdwhistell (U.S.A.). The afternoon session was devoted to "Aims and Methods in the Teaching of Physical Anthropology" by Laughlin (U.S.A.). The main discussant for this paper was Lasker (U.S.A.).

After a day's break for informal discussion, on the fifth day Birdwhistell (U.S.A.) presented his paper on "Techniques and Technical Aids in the Teaching of Anthropology." Mandelbaum initiated the discussion. The afternoon session was taken up by the paper on "Main Principles in Training Professional Anthropologists and in Directing Graduate Student Research" by Fortes (U.K.) and its discussion led by Wilson (South Africa).

(Continued from prom page 106)

Mrs. Kroeber has filled me in on many details of his personal life, especially before 1925 when I first knew him and Professor Robert Heizerd, has helped round out the picture in many ways. Important insights into Kroeber's childhood and youth are provided by the late Dr. Carl Alsberg, his lifelong friend, in "Alfred L. Kroeber" in *Essays in Anthropology Presented to A. L. Kroeber on his Sixtieth Birthday:* University of California Press, 1936, and by Kroeber's reminiscences of Alsberg in "The Making of the Man" in *Carl Alsberg. Scientist at Large* (Joseph S. Davis, ed.) Stanford University Press, 1948. I am also indebted to members of the Department of Anthropology, University of California, for placing records and other materials at my disposal.

Ann Judith Gibson and John Rowe have kindly provided me with Kroeber's bibliography, which is far more complete than any previously published and which was a task of many months.

The excellent photograph was taken by Paul Bishop of 2125 Durant Ave., Berkeley, California.

Kroeber presents some of this information in *Franz Boas: The Man,* Amer. Anthropl Assoc. Mem. 61, pp. 5–26, 1943, and other reminiscences in his unpublished *Anthropology at Columbia.*

In the morning session on the sixth day, Lounsbury (U.S.A.) summarized the paper on "Techniques of Graduate Training" by Beattie (U.K.) who could not participate in the Symposium. Lounsbury then initiated the discussion. The afternoon session was devoted to the paper on "The Place of Applied Anthropology in Undergraduate and Graduate Teaching" by Little (U.K.) and its discussion initiated by Maquet (Belgium).

The seventh day began with the discussion of the paper on "The Objectives of the Teaching of Anthropology as a part of Liberal Education" by Mead (U.S.A.) initiated by Dube (India). Mead could not attend the Symposium because of an accidental injury. This was followed by a general discussion on the outcome of the Symposium. Three sessions were devoted to this general discussion.

In an all-too-brief note it is impossible to summarize even briefly, either the thought-provoking papers or the discussion on them. It is to be hoped that a full report of the Symposium will soon be published. This will, we are sure, stimulate thought among the teachers of Anthropology and help them in redefining their aims and improving their methods of teaching.

There was considerable disagreement among the participants in regard to the content and emphases in the university curricula listed under 'Anthropology'. Must Social and Cultural Anthropology be taught always with Physical Anthropology, Archaeology and Linguistics? Or, can we deviate from the classical design of the discipline and relate these branches, particularly Social Anthropology, to other disciplines like Economics, History, Sociology and Political science? The American and the continental view largely favoured the classical design. The British social anthropologists, on the other hand, appeared to question the relevance of such a grouping of several semi-independent disciplines, which in their more specialized aspects have little bearing on one another. The question deserves serious consideration. The different branches of Anthropology have tended to specialize so much in recent decades that even for an above-the-average teacher of the subject it is now almost impossible to have a deeper than surface acquaintance with the developments in all the fields. Nostalgia for the established academic tradition for reasons of sentiment can be understood, but the utility of continuing the traditional arrangement does certainly need a scientific evaluation.

There was difference of opinion also in regard to the types of people and societies which should properly be studied by anthropologists. Fortes emphatically said that he would like his students always to work on exotic peoples in non-Western societies. Dr. Dube said, on the contrary, "that for many of us in Asia, Africa and other non-Western parts of the world Anthropology has, besides its traditional aims, also the aim of "self discovery" and as such we shall have to continue studying our own societies in addition to whatever other societies we can study."

In the discussion on applied anthropology it was felt that the 'we'-'they' dimension was over-emphasized. Most of the former colonies and dependent territories are now either free or are well on their way to independence. It is necessary now to think of ways by which their elites will handle situations calling for the application of anthropological principles and insights in their transition from tradition to progress. A new type of action anthropology or applied anthropology must logically emerge in the present context.

In the developing school and university curricula the place of anthropology is still somewhat uncertain. What place *does* our discipline occupy in the scheme of liberal education? What place *should* it occupy? Anthropology will perhaps continue to be taught through History, Geography and Biology in the schools, but it must have an independent place in any scheme of *general education* on the university level. The range and content of our offerings at this level must be determined after considerable thinking on the subject. The evolution of Man, Society and Culture in an outline will probably have to be included in all such schemes. It may also be useful to introduce young students to certain carefully selected different ways of life. An understanding of one's own society through an imaginatively planned course will also be desirable. But the planning of such courses is a task of great magnitude, and deserves the attention of the very best people in the field.

Three related questions are of significance in this context. First, the teachers required for such a programme will have to be carefully selected and trained. Secondly, the programme would necessitate production of genuinely scientific books, written in a clear, lucid and easy-to-understand style. Journalistic writing may do injury to scientific principles and interpretation and heavy writings employing the cherished jargon of serious scholars may be found unsuitable for the audience at which they are aimed. The production of simply and imaginatively written scientific books thus merits serious thought. Thirdly, for the widest possible dissemination of this knowledge, these books will have to be made available in a large number of languages. This would also require considerable planning and organization.

Another problem to which we shall have to give more careful attention is the one inherent in the controversy over *detachment* vs. *commitment* in Anthropology. Cultural relativism has its logical and practical limitations and anthropologists will increasingly have to choose and uphold certain values. This will pose certain important questions both for teaching and research in Anthropology. How best can we promote the use of our science and prevent its abuse will be a major question before us, particularly in the countries which have recently achieved national independence.

The Symposium was extremely stimulating. Although it raised more questions than it answered, it did highlight many significant points which deserve thought and action on the part of those who are engaged in the teaching of Anthropology.

The deliberations were ably conducted by chairman Mandelbaum and co-chairman Little. The atmosphere was informal and cordial throughout. Paul Fejos and his charming wife, Lita Binns, have indeed made the nine hundred year old Castle at Burg Wartenstein a place of pilgrimage for all anthropologists.

3. Seminar on Social and Emotional Integration of India

The seminar on social and emotional integration of India was organised by the Institute of Social Sciences, University of Agra, in course of its annual schedule to take up systematic theoretical as well as empirical analysis of one sociological problem of the country emerging in the process of rapid and accelerated social change. Starting from Feb. 23rd 1961, it continued for three days and social scientists from all over the country participated in the discussions, which were so channelized as to pin-point the problem areas which thwarted the integrative forces and potential of the Indian Society. Therefore, the seminar was divided into three major sections, the first being related to the problem of concept and approach, and the second and the third seeking to assess and evaluate the role of caste and language respectively in the phenomenon of emotional integration of the country.

The concept of emotional integration was met with a number of theoretical difficulties which branched off into three major sociological traditions, viz. structural functional, psychologistic and interdisciplinary. The inclination, however, of the majority of participants was to reject the psychologistic connotation implicit in the term *emotional integration* and substitute it with *cultural* and *social* integration, and thereby stablize its conceptual status either in structural functional or social psychological matrix of analysis. It was at this point where the view points of prominent participants like Prof. S. C. Dube, Prof. R. N. Saxena, Dr. K. Ishwaran, Dr. A. R. Desai and some other members of the group converged and concurred. Prof. A. K. Saran, on the other hand, emphasized the symbolic and logico-meaningful nature of the concept of social integration which subsequent to its organisation into levels and orders was an emanation from a certain mode of a society's social organization rather than a goal or end result phenomenon for which effort could be made for realization. The functional concept of integration maintained was based on the faith in the theory of social synthesis which according to him was theoretically untenable.

As to the mode of integration which could be accepted as reliable parameter for assessment of the significance and nature of the problem of integration in India the seminar diverged into many theoretical constructs, which could be summarized as: 1. integration as a phenomenon of emanation from a certain order of social organization; 2. as a continuum of adjustment of relations and finally 3. as a state of relative resemblance to and deviation from a certain ideal type of integrated society. The concurrence of opinion on these issues was relatively absent among the participants. The two papers submitted by Dr. Y. Singh and Dr. R. N. Srivastava respectively diverged in emphasis. Dr. Y. Singh after referring to four major concepts of integration such as 1. the phenomenological; 2. the social psychological; 3. the logico-meaningful; and 4. the structural functional, attempted to make a plea for the acceptance of the term "emotional integration" in view of the contracting and converging horizons of psychology, sociology and social anthropology which were increasingly coming closer together. Dr. Srivastava, on the other hand, emphasized the role of religious values as the broad foundation from which inspite of apparent differences, integration was and would be possible in the sub-continent of India.

The discussion on the second section "the caste as a factor in social tension" was, however, most elaborate and analytical. The papers of Dr. Ishwaran, Dr. Tara Patel and Dr. Y. Singh came up for discussion. Dr. Ishwaran, in his paper, presented a meticulous empirical analysis of the pattern of inter-caste tension in the Mysore State on the basis of the findings of his research project. These tensions, according to him, were primarily a fruition of the inter-caste competition and rivalry for leadership and power and indicated extreme degree of polarization in favour of the upper rather than the lower caste groups. Dr. Tara Patel in her paper similarly dwelt upon the nature and pattern of caste tension and casteism in the state of Gujrat. Dr. Y. Singh in his paper hypothesized that most of the so called caste tensions in Indian society were but camaflouged class tensions and conflicts and expressed themselves through caste because of the high degree of permeability, universality and state of pervasiveness of caste rather than class institutions in India.

The interesting questions that emerged from the diversified emphasis in these papers were firstly, as to why and how the caste which was system integrative for a long time has become system dis-integrative? secondly, what was the nature of the dominant caste and the causes of its domination?; thirdly, what future potentials were present in caste institution in its present state of dynamics for bringing about social integration in the emerging pattern of Indian society? Dr. A. R. Desai held that the problem of social integration in the contemporary Indian society was based on our sustained effort to social change from a sacred to seculiar form of society, in which the perspectives as well as the policies of transition were often confused and self contradictory, augmenting complications in the process of change. He showed concurrence with the view that casteism and caste tensions were indirect expressions of class rivalries and competitions. Professor S. C. Dube on the other hand expressed skepticism as regards the feasibility of the use of the term "dominant caste" which he felt was highly relative and vague. He also held that caste system in its present process of change showed little symptom of being exterminated; rather in keeping with its traditional dynamism it was being metamorphosed into a politico-economic institution and thus a new synthesis in its form was taking place. Prof. R. N. Saksena, supporting this argument, refered to the diffuse but solid foundation of Indian religious values and its integrative role in the social structure which would ultimately succeed in evolving a cultural synthesis in India. Prof. A. K. Saran expressed his disagreement with the theory of cultural synthesis and held that the problem of contemporary social disorganization in India was the result of what he called, a process of "culture lag in the reverse," wherein, instead of there being a behavioral lag in the context of changing material culture, the former ran ahead of the latter, generating strains in social life and frustrations, which increased the area of mal-adjustment.

In the third section devoted to the analysis of the "role of language in social integration" Dr. Indra Deva presented his paper in which he emphasized the importance of spoken dialects in cultural synthesis and integration. Referring to the differences in the spoken dialects of various groups such as urban and rural on one hand and the upper and the lower classes on the other, he concluded that in the process of cultural integration these dialects played an instrumental and basic role. Professor Saran held that the problem of language in India was born out of the fear and anxiety of the linguistic minorities in term of their suspected loss of employment opportunities and disadvantages of linguistic domination. Prof. Dube also expressed agreement with the above view and held that the prospect of one acceptable national language in India was remote in the near future and the only alternative that appeared was either continuation of English or multilingualism. Dr. S. K. Srivastava had earlier emphasized the importance of a systematic study into the 'national character' of India, for an adequate understanding of the problem of social integration.

The seminar, however, enjoyed the privilege of distinction in the sense that a systematic attempt was made by a group of trained social scientists, to probe deeper into the sociological processes of change and its consequences, to which Indian social structure is at present subjected. The analysis of empirical problem was at the same time not sacrificed in favour of evaluation and test of major sociological concepts, and consequently the proceedings of the seminar, which are shortly going to be published by the Institute of Social Sciences, Agra University, may prove illuminating equally to the administrators and the intellectuals.

II. NEWS

1. The Tenth Pacific Science Congress, Honolulu, Hawaii

The attention of the scientific world will focus on the State of Hawaii in the late summer of 1961 (From August 21 to September 6 this year). This area has been chosen by the Pacific Science Association as the site of its Tenth Pacific Science Congress, sponsored by the National Academy of Sciences, Washington, D.C., and the Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu, in cooperation with the University of Hawaii. Appropriately, the newest state of the U.S.A. will be the scene of the next Congress, because the Association was founded in Honolulu, where its first Congress was held in August 1920. Because of the part played by the Director of the Bishop Museum in establishing the Association, the Museum officially represents what was formerly the Territory of Hawaii. The main session in 1961 will be held on the campus of the University of Hawaii.

The main programme is already being organized under sections and divisions. Symposia are the main divisional meetings, but provision has been made for sessions of grouped papers and contributed papers. There are nine sections that include geophysical sciences, biological sciences, public health and medical sciences, agricultural sciences, forestry, conservation, anthropology and social sciences, geography, and scientific information.

Some 1200 participants from 40 member countries or administrative areas in the Pacific will take part in the deliberations. The invited Congress participants include many scientists engaged primarily in pure or basic science as well as others who work in the applied sciences. One task of the Congress is to report on advances in many fields of science that have been made since the last Congress in Thailand in 1957.

2. The Fifth World Congress of Sociology
Washington, D.C. 2-8 September, 1962

At the invitation of the American Sociological Association, and under the auspices of the Unesco, the International Sociological Association will hold its fifth congress of Sociology in Washington, D.C. from 2nd to 8th September, 1962.

The programme will comprise three subjects: 1. The first theme will be organised with the American Sociological Association as a joint session. This will deal with two main aspects: i. Communication between the sociologists and the policy-makers, and ii. Communication between the sociologists and the general public, 2. The second theme is the Sociology of Development, and it will have two plenary sessions: i. "The first stages of growth", and ii. "The maintenance of the growth", 3. The third theme will deal with historical and comparative studies, functionalism, Marxism and models and theory formation.

Besides, there are eight sub-committees that cover different aspects of Sociology: Social stratification and Social mobility, Industry, Urban-Rural Community, Family, Political Order, Religion, Psychiatry and Mass Communication.

3. International Folk-Music Council Fourteenth Annual Conference

The International Folk Music is holding its Fourteenth Annual Conference in Quebec, Canada, from August 28th to September 3rd, 1961, of the invitation of the Rector of Laval University and the Canadian Folk Music Society whose president is Dr. Marius Barbeau.

The main themes of the Conference will be: 1. Comparisons between the folk music of the various national and racial groups of the Americas and the folk music of their respective homelands; and 2. Amerindian folk music. Included in the first theme, papers will be read on the folk music of France, Czechoslovakia and the Outer Hebrides of Scotland; and in connection with the second theme a number of papers have been offered on the music of the various Indian tribes inhabiting both Canada and the United States. Non-Western music will be represented by papers on the music of Java, Japan, Hawaii and Mauritania. One of the most interesting communications promises to be that of Professor Wiora on 'Music and the time of the palaeolithic cave-paintings'.

The folk dance will be one of the forms of folk music to which special attention will be given, and plans will be discussed for the setting up of a folk dance commission under the auspices of the Council.

It is expected that the Conference will be attended by some 200 members. Already registrations have been received from sixteen countries: Belgium, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Egypt, France, Germany, Greece, Guatemala, Hungary, Israel, the Netherlands, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, the United States, and Yugoslavia.

The International Folk Music Council which was founded in 1947, has about nine hundred members. Its headquarters is in London, and its President is Professor Zoltán Kodály, the Hungarian composer.

Among the council's publications may be mentioned its annual Journal, the Collecting of Folk Music and other Ethnological Material – a Manual for Field Workers, the International Catalogue of Recorded Folk Music and Folk Songs of Europe.

Particulars of the Council can be obtained from Miss Maud Karpeles, Secretary, International Folk Music Council, 35 Princess Court, Queensway, London, W.2.

4. The Fifty-Ninth Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Minnesota

The Fifty-ninth Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association was held at the Hotel Leamington in Minneapolis, Minnesota from 17 to 20 November, 1960. Dr. Robert F. Spencer of the University of Minnesota was Programme Chairman and Dr. Margaret Mead chaired the official business meeting of the Association and made the Presidential Address. Approximately 700 anthropologists registered for attendance at Session which included more than 300 papers, most of them volunteered. In addition there were clinics on special techniques, film session, special meetings, a convocation at the University of Minnesota, an outstanding plenary session of Primate Behaviour which included a report on a field study of Indian Langur monkeys. A Session on the Ethnology of India included papers by Honingmann and Bhutani, D. Beatrice, Miller and Ruth S. Freed.

The Sixtieth Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association will be held at the Benjamin Franklin Hotel in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania from 16–19 November, 1961. A Committee under Dr. John L. Landgraf of New York University is making arrangements for a Programme which will largely be arranged by Session Chairman in special topical fields of anthropology or in areal sessions. Two such sessions are planned for South Asia. Plenary sessions on 'Sex and Culture' and 'The uses of Anthropology in overseas Programmes' are being arranged, and through a joint meeting with the American Society for Ethnamusicology, an evening performing session will be presented to feature Indian music. The President of the American Anthropological Association for the year is Dr. Gordon F. Willey of Harvard University.

5. The Seventh Indian Sociological Conference

The Seventh Indian Sociological Conference will be held in December, 1961, under the auspicies of the Department of Social Anthropology, Karnatak University, Dharwar. There are four sections that include Sociology, Social Anthropology, Statistics and Demography. About 100 delegates will be participating in the Conference representing various Universities and Research Institutes in India.

6. News of the University of Karnatak

I. Vice-Chancellor D. C. Pavate

Vice-Chancellor D. C. Pavate, M.A. (Cantab), of Karnatak University, Dharwar (Mysore State), India, has been nominated by the Union Government of India, as a member of the University Grants Commission. Vice-Chancellor Pavate will be one of the three members representing the forty-two Universities in India on the Commission. Dr. D. C. Pavate has worked for eight years as Director of Public Instruction in the former Bombay Government, and has been rendering valuable services as Vice-Chancellor to the Karnatak University for the last seven years.

II. The Department of Social Anthropology

1. *Dr. L. K. Mahapatra, M. A., D. Phil (Hamburg)*, has been appointed lecturer in the Department of Social Anthropology and will take up his appointment in July 1961. Dr. Mahapatra has served for a period of seven years in the Universities of Lucknow, Agra and Gauhati, and has worked in North Eastern Frontier Agency, India, as research worker. While in Germany, he worked with Professor Helmut Schelsky.

2. *Mr. H. M. Marulasiddaiah, M. A., M. A. (S.W)*, has been appointed lecturer in the same department and is expected to take up his duties in July 1961. Mr. Marulasiddaiah took his post-graduate degree in Sociology, Social Anthropology & Social Work and carried out a field study in Bangalore, India, on the problem of Changing Attitudes of Industrial Workers of rural origin towards Family, Marriage, Education, Religion and Status of Women. He worked as lecturer in P.S.G. School of Social Work, Coimbatore, India, and as lecturer in Sociology in the Department of Sociology of Karnatak University. He is now engaged in field work on the problem of Old-Age in an India Village.

3. *Dr. K. Ishwaran*, Head of the Department, has been nominated as a representative of Mysore State on the Central Advisory Board of Anthropology, Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, Government of India.

Acknowledgements

Grateful acknowledgements are due to the following persons for their assistance in the preparation of "Notes and News" section: Professor S. C. Dube, University of Saugar, Dr. Yogendra Singh, University of Rajasthan, Jozef Chalasinski, University of Warsaw and Professor George M. Foster, University of California.

EDITOR

BOOK REVIEWS

B. Landheer, *Ethical Values in International Decision-Making*, Stichting Grotius Seminarium, The Hague.

Once 'One World' used to be the catch-phrase on the lips of many of those working for greater harmony and co-operation in international relations. It ushered in the birth of the United Nations Organisation, and an apallingly large amount of people throughout the world seemed to think that they and their governments could all sit back and relax, since now U.N.O. was there and would be able to take care of everything.

Nowadays, of course, most people are rather disillusioned about U.N.O. and such cries as 'One World'. Considering themselves more realistic therefore, they have turned to a new and more cautious slogan and are content to plead the virtues of 'Peaceful Coexistence'. In fact, we all claim to want 'Peaceful Coexistence' now. Or nearly all of us.

The trouble is that we do not agree on what it involves. To some it implies the use of *all* means, short of a large-scale shooting war, to secure the adherence of the Non-aligned World to the 'Socialist Camp' or to the 'Free World' in the struggle for World Supremacy.

But the experience of history shows us that an unrelenting struggle between two heavily armed camps by all means *short* of a large-scale shooting war inevitably leads to an unrelenting struggle by all means *including* such a war. True, there is the 'Balance of Terror' occasioned by the existence of the Bomb, but, all the same, 'Peaceful Coexistence' seems to be too dangerous, as well as too negative and limited a principle, to form the basis of lasting non-violent relations between countries with differing outlooks.

We need to search out some more positive 'ethical values' which can be accepted by all men as the basis of their dealings with each other at the global level. But do such universally held values actually exist? It is this problem which is the common concern of the various contributors to 'Ethical Values in International Decision-making'.

It is one of the strong points as well as one of the weaknesses of this booklet of a hundred pages or so that the eight scholars contributing to it examine their common problem from different cultural and academic viewpoints. A strong point because the reader is made aware of aspects of the question he might have bypassed if it had been looked at it from one angle only. A weakness because the same terms are sometimes used by the different writers to refer to different ideas or values, a difficulty that is only too familiar to sociologists the world over. Additional confusion from the methodological point of view is caused by the fact that although the booklet is called 'Ethical Values in International Decision-making', several of the papers are titled 'Living and Co-operation in One World' – a considerably broader theme.

This having been said, though, one has to report that there is much of value in this book, much that makes it really worth studying.

Dr. B. Landheer, Director of the Peace Palace Library and teacher and writer on Sociology, writes the introductory 'Remarks around the Conference', in which he thoroughly explores the obstacles to the realization of a 'global ethical behaviour'.

Then comes an address by Professor G. van der Molen, Professor of International Law at the Free University of Amsterdam, in which she poses and gives her answer to the question 'whether an international ethos exists, comprising ethical values acceptable to all the nations of the earth'.

This is followed by the text of a speech delivered to the Conference by the late Shri John A. Thivy, at that time Ambassador of India at The Hague. Amongst other matters, Shri Thivy referred to the role of the Panch Shila in international relations.

'Living and Co-operating in One World in the General Context of International Relations' is the title of a short but to the point paper contributed by Dr. B. H. M. Vlekke, Professor of International Relations at Leyden University.

Mr. Kwee San Liat of Leyden examines the role of the Marginal Man in history and in future co-operation. He draws our attention to the ways in which the Marginal Man has helped to break down barriers between men in the past and might well help to promote the 'trend towards greater universality' in the future.

Professor Harold Sprout of Princeton University makes a searching appraisal of 'American Values and behavior patterns and their compatibility with peaceful co-existence', while Mrs. Verwey-Jonker, a member of the Dutch Parliament and a trained sociologist, takes a concise but comprehensive look at 'International co-operation and the value systems of the Netherlands'.

Finally, Professor Jacques Ellul of Bordeaux includes in his paper (Les relations de l'éthique et de la coopération internationale dans les groupes de culture en France) some suggestions about how we should set about 'cette recherche d'une intégration d'une Êthique dans une système de relations internationales.'

All the contributors agree that 'ethical values' do count for something in international relations, but as is only to be expected they do not agree about how much. And they do not all agree that universally held 'ethical values' actually exist, let alone what these are.

So this reviewer cannot report that these scholars have found a magic formula for solving the world's problems. But they did not set out to do this. They set out to provide serious thought on a matter of crucial importance to people everywhere. And this they have certainly succeeded in doing.

Cambridge, University — Bruce Burton

Simon Marcson, *The Scientist in American Industry* (*Some Organizational Determinants in Man-power Utilization*), Princeton University, student price $ 5.75.

This is a report of a Study centered "on the organization of research in the Central research laboratory of a large corporation that employs several hundred Scientists," referred to as the *Pacific Electronics Company* which is a multiplant Company with a number of product manufacturing divisions that employ scientists and engineers.

"In this Century of Science", Mr. Marcson, states in his introductory chapter, "research is a major business." Research in different fields is tending to be a 'business' in the sense that it is understood as a means of profits, relegating the academic aspects of research to a secondary place. In the Western Countries especially, research in the field of the physical and social sciences has been aimed at the invention of superior mechanical and psychological manipulatory devices in order that the competitive position is protected. We are not here to pass any judgement, but only to record facts. Industrial organization typically illustrates this tempo of research.

Industrial corporations have been organising research laboratories in different fields for various purposes. For instance, for the production and the raising of the quality of products; for creating demand by consummers; for expanding the market; for harnessing man-power in an efficient manner, and for providing opportunities – cultural and economic – for their personnel. Industrially advanced countries have been spending huge sums for these purposes. For instance, Mr. Marcson quotes that in the U.S.A., in 1957, 7.2 billion dollars were spent on private industrial research and development, shared also by the Federal Government. When compared with the amount earmarked for the total national development in the under-developed countries, this would give us an idea of the important place given to research in America.

The real point is not that the sum spent for research is huge. It is that the problems arising in the evolutionary process of industrialism and which economic organization has to face, are getting wider in scope and graver in consequences. This is obviously because industrial organization along with its personnel policy, and the society at large with its stratification, institutional complexity, economic policy and demographic variations are structurally and functionally related. It may be true at times, as Mr. Marcson finds, that 'to many corporations, the industrial research and development laboratory is a strange new addition to the organization.' But as the industrial society is evolving itself into a morphologically conceivable structure, the research laboratory and the scientist therein cannot be considered either as strangers or as addenda. In fact every industrial organization, indirectly at least, has to develop functional relationship with a research unit or units lest it should meet failure. And precisely for this reason, the problems and their analysis invite attention.

The report under review investigates the structural position of the professional scientist in the industrial corporation with reference to the industrial research laboratory. Further, within the analysis of the organizational structure of the laboratory and its place in the corporation, the study has raised certain important issues that are integral to the problem before the researcher, viz. utilization of man-power:

(a) Consequences of the employment of professionals, such as scientists, by non-professionals, (b) Influence of this on the autonomy of the professionals, (c) Adjustmental pattern expected to be developed by the professionals while working under the codes of conduct framed and enforced by the non-professionals, (d) Estimation of the degree of socialization of the scientist through which he acquires values, attitudes and skills essential for his professional functioning, (e) Types of role differentiation among the scientists in their research laboratory, and (f) The structure and function of the research-work-group. These issues are analysed at different angles within a 'conceptual frame work' which in fact has emerged as the result of the analysis.

The author has divided the report into two parts, 1. Organizational environment of the industrial research laboratory, and 2. Interpretation. These are further divided into chapters in which the findings are presented. A note on problem and method is added at the end.

An industrial corporation has to organize an industrial research laboratory in which professionally trained scientists are engaged in the analysis of different functional units so that industrialism can function in an efficient manner. The scientists are subjected to the unfamiliar industrial climate. They have to fit themselves in the new environment, without sacrificing their professional integrity. How the scientists could be used best, or in what manner the man-power could be usefully mobilized so as to meet the goal of both the industrial corporation and of the scientists, is the vital issue. In this connection Mr. Marcson points out, interestingly enough, that" the scientists' goal is invention." Inventions may contribute to the eventual profit position of the corporation, but this is somewhat distant. The laboratory's immediate goal is an innovation in science that may lend itself to possible marketability. Its concern about corporation goals is therefore not immediate. As a matter of fact, the laboratory does not like to define its goals in the same way that the corporation defines its goals. Here we discern an inherent conflict between these two units bound together, a '*strange*' phenomenon in the communistic and under-developed countries for different reasons, though not clearly agreed upon. The conflict also arises, understandably and naturally, and is sympathetically considered, with efforts being made at solving it in the freer atmosphere of the capitalistic pattern of society, in the realm of goals or basic interests. It is interesting to observe how the basic differences are processed through the flow of authority in the organization established by non-professionals. In his functioning the scientist faces a dilemma of preference between academic interest and meeting the corporation's goals.

In the light of the above dilemma man-power-utilization is a vital problem, both for the industrialist and the scientist. Its importance is enhanced when the scientist himself is the subject of the study. The researcher who is interested in the study of the industrial organizational environment and the scientific personnel as interrelated units, faces problems of analysis connected with values, personality formation and institutional intricacy. The researcher has to observe, as an outsider should, objectively the process of evolution of the industrial corporation, the research laboratory with its power structure, the professional scientist against the socio-economic and the societal configuration into which industrialism has penetrated, so that he would be in a better position to measure and suggest ways of properly utilizing man-power.

Mr. Marcson has, we should admit, ably put forth a conceptual framework detailed in ten chapters wherein he has tried to analyse the issues outlined in the introductory note against which the main problem is tested. This framework could be profitably made use of by industrial sociologists and organizers of industrial personnel in testing their observations and experiences. The author has amply used research and theoretical material on social relationships whether to support his contentions or to reject a generalization. But, from the issues he has raised and analysed, one could find that the conceptual framework is not quite adequate as it ignores, surprisingly, the societal structure which, even though beyond the precincts of the research laboratory and industrial corporation, is actually and essentially a phenomenon of great significance to the industrial sociologist or the student of human relationships in the industrial community. Since this Volume is 'the first of a series,' we can hope to find an adequate frame-work elaborated in the rest of the volumes.

However, the author deserves our congratulations for the care with which he avoided hasty generalizations, and for giving us a clearer picture of the structural position of the scientist in American industry. In fact he has been successful in throwing light on the explorable areas of human relations. This report is useful for university students engaged in the study of industrial relations.

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Gideon Sjoberg, *The Preindustrial City*, The Free Press of Glencoe, 1960. xii + 353 pages. Price $ 6.75.

Sjoberg has written an important book. It is true that in India we have known the preindustrial city from proto-historic times, and that many of our cities are still pre-industrial. Yet the Indian sociologist has shown no greater awareness of the differences between the pre-industrial and the industrial cities than his American colleagues. Sjoberg's book is important because, among other things, it attempts what has been long over due. For that reason alone the book is welcome.

The task which Sjoberg has set himself is truly a gigantic one. The problems he had to face were manifold – problems of methodology, theoretical premises and framework and of the collation of data on a world-wide scale.

Sjoberg is worried by the fact that most of the writings on urban sociology in America are pertinent only to the American situation. (The present reviewer was called upon a couple of years ago, to give a course on Rural Sociology at an Indian University, and was, like Sjoberg, appalled and distressed to find that all the available text-books were based upon American data). The consequence of this pre-occupation with America has been that not only has the variety of industrial cities not been fully explored, but the delineation of the *preindustrial* city also has been astonishingly enough, neglected.

Not only are generalizations in the field of urban sociology derived from a limited geographical area viz. America, but they are also derived from a short time-span. To set things right Sjoberg had to fall back upon the comparative method on a cross-cultural basis, somewhat in the tradition of the great comparativists of past time, such as Hobhouse, Spencer, Sumner and Weber. We need not more than mention here that the comparative method has been much misused and maligned and that it requires courage and imagination tempered with caution, discrimination and wisdom to use it. The following statement by Sjoberg will find a sympathetic echo among social anthropologists, particularly those who 'follow' Radcliffe-Brown: 'But to reject ... the comparative approach ... particularly when treating large-scale social systems ... is to ignore a compelling fact.... If sociology is to justify its self-concept as a "science of society", it must establish propositions that have cross-cultural validity' (p. 2).

Sjoberg describes his aim as being the description and analysis of 'the structure of the city, both in historical societies and in surviving literate non-industrial orders, before its transformation through industrialization' (p. 4). 'Our principal hypothesis is that in their structure, or from preindustrial cities – whether in medieval Europe, traditional China, India, or elsewhere – resemble one another closely and in turn differ markedly from modern industrial urban centres' (pp. 4–5). The rest of the book is devoted to the development and documentation of this theme.

The author develops a typology of societies, placing every society into one of three categories, viz. the folk, or preliterate, society; the feudal, or preindustrial civilized or literate preindustrial, society; and the industrial urban society. The basis of this typology is 'technology' which is referred to as the key independent variable. A materialist (Marxist) intellectual stance is, however, avoided. 'Technology both requires and makes possible certain social forms .... Technology is not some materialistic, impersonal force outside the socio-cultural context or beyond human control; technology is a human creation par excellence' (p. 7). 'Technology ... refers to the sources of energy, the tools, and the know – how connected with the use of both tools and sources of energy for the production of goods and services' (pp. 7–8). Sjoberg proceeds to show that the three types of societies mentioned by him differ in terms of and mainly because of technological differences. Thus, a major difference between preindustrial and industrial cities lies in the utilization of inanimate sources of energy in the latter.

Employing a modified structural-functional method (he introduces the concept of "contradictory functional requirements"), Sjoberg examines the beginnings of cities; the patterning of preindustrial urban proliferation; demography and ecology; social class; marriage and the family; economic structure; political structure; religious structure; and communication, education, and the nature of knowledge. His conclusion is: 'Our hypothesis that preindustrial and industrial cities are fundamentally distinctive entities is unmistakably borne out by the existing data' (p. 330).

Sjoberg makes a careful, qualified use of the concept of technology as the key variable. Nevertheless his application of this concept to explain the differences between folk and feudal societies is not quite as convincing as it is in the case of preindustrial and industrial societies and cities. Gordon Childe and others have shown the importance of technological improvements in the evolution of social forms within folk-society, but that is not what interests Sjoberg. And yet it may not be denied that the so-called folk and feudal societies are different from one another. Sjoberg himself writes: 'Although we lend priority to technology, we cannot dispense with the other variables enumerated' (e.g. social power and values) (p. 329). This disclaimer notwithstanding, the author relies on technology as his master key. The reader cannot help becoming aware of its weakness as well as of its strength. The reliance on a single variable is, of course, nothing new. Leslie White (Sjoberg never mentions him) goes one step ahead of technology and seeks to explain the riddle of social evolution in terms of energy – a procedure which Sjoberg explicitly rejects.

Apart from the foregoing reservations concerning theoretical premises, the present reviewer would like also to mention that although Sjoberg's scholarship is immense and his attempt at synthesis commands respect, yet the resultant generalizations are often slight and very general indeed. Consider this: 'The production of goods and services (in feudal society)... is accomplished through a division of labour which is complex compared to that in the typical folk order but, seen form the industrial city's vantage point, is surprisingly simple' (pp. 325–6). The fault does not probably lie with our author but with the limited possibilities of the comparative method. But this is not the place to discuss that question.

This reviewer also feels a bit uncomfortable with the admissability of some of the evidence Sjoberg cites. To take an example: Discussing the criteria affecting the selection of a spouse in the non-industrial milieu, he mentions, among other things, good health. He adds: 'The advertisements for marriage partners in the large urban newspapers in India are apt to stress this even today' (p. 150). On what grounds may we assume that the *large* urban newspapers reflect the ways of the preindustrial urban population of India? Are Delhi, Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, where these newspapers are published, pre-industrial cities? Moreover, who are the people who insert advertisements in the matrimonial columns of the newspapers? We must know that before coming to any conclusions; and at present nothing certain is known about the social background of these people apart from what can be gleaned from the advertisements.

This reviewer does not wish to indulge in carping criticism, but may say that he found Sjoberg's attitude toward many other scholars over-critical and his style at times over-bearing and even admonitory. He often uses phrases like 'remember', 'bear in mind', 'keep clearly in mind' and so on. In his pronouncements on the future of the preindustrial city and its overthrow by industrialization he sounds like a gloomy prophet. 'Viewing certain European societies or Japan in retrospect, one can assume that global strife will multiply with the spread of industrialization and urbanization' (p. 339).

One of the merits of the book is the wealth of references in the notes at the end of each chapter. These are not, unfortunately, covered in the Index.

The foregoing criticism notwithstanding, Sjoberg's book is an important publication. Ambitious in its aim, its achievements also are considerable.

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Surindar Suri, *Nazism and Social Change*, Rajendra New Delhi, 1959, $ 1.50

The notion that political phenomena are connected in some manner or other with social phenomena has been a familiar notion in Western political theory from Plato to de Jouvenel. Hence the recent plea for a sociology of politics is not entirely new. However, what is novel in the current version of an ancient insight is the fact that it has been put on a more consciously methodological footing. What were mere hints have been theoretically explored and empirically elaborated. Is it too much to suggest that this is part of a general tendency to build as many bridges between as many disciplines as possible, after a surfeit of specialisation? Mr. Surindar Suri claims that his monograph "Nazism And Social Change In Germany" is a contribution towards "a sociology of politics and of world politics."

Methodologically speaking, Mr. Suri attempts to investigate political theory with the help of comparative social history. In consequence, it is clearly incumbent on him to tell us what he actually means by "history." Unfortunately, he holds no consistent position on the question. On the one hand, he rejects "naive historical determinism" and accepts the principle of "historical continuity." On the other hand, in the pages that follow he makes statements which make sense only on a deterministic assumption. He nowhere explains the distinction between a "naive" and a not naive determinism. In fact, his position is thoroughly deterministic. To take but a random example, he writes, "The central thesis of this essay is that National Socialism was a substitute for the missing 'bourgeois revolution' in Germany." Now, it is reasonable to ask whether the word "missing" here does not imply the sense of an historical "must." Doesn't it imply that the bourgeois revolution is an historical "must" and that any deviation from it is an aberration? The point is not whether determinism is tenable or not, but that you cannot at the same time reject it and use it. Otherwise Mr. Suri's thesis is not startlingly original, and covers more or less familiar ground. For instance, the economic interpretation, for such in essence it is, is nothing new. Nor does his contention that the Nazis were cruelly kind in bringing about the benefits of a bourgeois revolution in their own way amount to an original discovery. It has been necessary to harp on the question of originality, not to belittle Mr. Suri's admirable abilities of lucid exposition, but to question the advisability of calling his essay a research monograph. This feeling is further confirmed by the impression that the author has based his work upon second-hand and third-hand sources. Perhaps he has digested primary sources of data, but the reader gets no hint of it. Thus his monograph is not sustained by a foundation of first-hand empirical study. Again, it must be repeated that all this criticism does not question Mr. Suri's conclusions as such. Mr. Suri suggests that an African or an Asian is more likely than a Westerner (including the American perhaps) to bring to a study of Nazism an attitude of emotional detachment. This may be true, but such psychological advantages are useless, unless they are backed up by sound, painstaking and patient research and study. Mr. Suri's bibliographical apparatus, to put it mildly, is not adequate. Students brought up in the discipline of Political Science, for example, will miss the name of Laski who, after all, had something to say on the subject. There is also no mention of Hannah Arendt. In the Appendix, Mr. Suri adds "A Theoretical Framework For The Study Of Social Change In India Since Independence." This contains a very useful list of topics for research by Indian sociologists and political scientists, both of whom have been somewhat shy of studying power-patterns in terms of the socio-political structure. For example, we have no studies of the shifts in social and political power that have taken place in India since independence. It is to be hoped that Mr. Suri or his friends will undertake investigations into these matters.

Mr. Suri's writing is terse and to the point, though on one or two occasions, it falls into such depths as "... we want to find our way around without falling into a ditch"; or "getting lost in a marsh"; "to prevent storms which will destroy and uproot"; and because we want a garden to flower." It is curious that footnotes 21 (page 23) and 9 (pages 12 and 13) should be virtually identical, word for word. This monograph is one of a series, entitled," Comparative Studies in Social Change." It may be suggested that the series should make India its central concern.

Karnatak University, Dharwar

K. Raghavendra Rao

i **Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes,** Government of India, 1958-59. Part I, pp. 253, Price Rs. 250;

ii **Report of the Committee on Special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks,** Government of India, 1960, pp. 453, Price Rs. 7.25

iii **Seventh Evaluation Report on Community Development and Some Allied Fields,** Government of India. pp. 171

The three Reports under review are related to the reconstruction programmes for uplifting tribal and rural people in India. These reports deal with the most important aspects of tribal and rural development, viz. welfare schemes for backward classes, scheduled castes and scheduled tribes; special multipurpose blocks for tribal people; and developmental blocks for rural communities.

(i) The (eighth) report submitted to the Government of India by the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other Backward Classes reviews the progress made during the financial year 1958–59 in the work relating to the welfare of the weaker sections of the society for which special arrangements were made. In the two volumes (Parts I and II) a systematic attempt is made to gather qualitative and quantitative data which were not receiving the adequate attention of the government, referring to the tribal area and its population, welfare schemes and their working, and physical targets and their achievements. However, we note that some of the States of the Union have failed to keep relevant records up-to-date which would otherwise have enhanced the value of the present report.

The Report shows the sincere efforts made by Mr. L. M. Srikant, the Commissioner, who has built up the Commission "from a scratch" as he rightly points out. During most of the First Five Year Plan there were no plans and welfare schemes for backward classes. In spite of the enormous difficulties in building up the Commissioner's Office, Mr. Srikant has been successful in bringing strength to the Commission which is now in a position to guide programmes of great dimensions for the general upliftment of the downtrodden sections of the Indian society. The amounts earmarked during the first and second five year plans (Rs. 390 and Rs. 910 million respectively) for welfare schemes of backward classes clearly indicate the progress achieved.

The Commissioner has been careful enough, in this Report, to consider criticisms levelled against the functioning of various schemes and has answered them with substantial evidence.

The Report points out, with regret, that only three of the states had discussed the earlier reports of the Commissioner in their legislatures, and that these oldest reports had lost value as new reports were published at the time of their deliberation. Secondly, the states are not giving proper attention to the collection of relevant data, and do not provide necessary budgetary requirements; and, if they provide them at all, the amounts must be spent before the end of the financial year and sometimes lapse. This indifference and lethargy on the part of the State Governments has harmed the cause of improving the status of the most neglected sections of the Indian population. The Commissioner is justified in drawing attention of the State Governments to this matter.

The second part of the Report contains useful illustrative statistical data relevant to the matter discussed in the first part. The efforts of the Commissioner will certainly be rewarded if those concerned in the welfare of the backward classes would seriously take account of their activities in the light of this Report.

(ii) The Report of the Committee on Special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks evaluates the activities of Special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks established by the Home Ministry, Government of India in the hitherto neglected areas and populations of India. The object of these Tribal Blocks was to bring about rapid improvement in the economic and social standards of the tribal people by selecting specifically underdeveloped but compact areas for multi-sided development. The Ministry of Home Affairs, responsible for the welfare of the tribal people, appointed a Committee to examine the work and programme of these blocks and suggest ways and means to improve the working conditions of these blocks. Dr. Verrier Elwin, the well-known Indian Anthropologist, was the Chairman of the Committee. The other members were: Mr. R. C. V. P. Noronha, Mr. N. M. Wadiva, Mr. R. R. Bhal and Mr. M. C. Nanavatty. Mr. O. K. Murthy was member secretary.

The Report provides detailed notes on 20 of the Multipurpose Blocks, which give a fairly good picture of the social situation prevailing in those tribal regions and working conditions of the blocks. The Committee has accepted the task of finding out measures, to be suggested to the government, for giving true tribal character to the blocks.

The programme of raising the standard of living and of integrating the tribal people with the rest has introduced new agencies in the areas such as land-utilization, administration of community cooperation, education and communication. The new agencies are aimed at hastening the process of detribalization, but the tribal people have failed to accept them, as they are, at various points, drastically new, and lack tribal colour. Social workers from non-tribal groups are found to be unsuccessful as they are not easily accepted by the tribal people and they themselves develop frustration by witnessing difficulties and failures. Further, it is found that the ritual dances, dormitories and such other institutional patterns are neglected by the administration, not realizing their importance in maintaining social cohesion; and the songs introduced on a non-tribal basis are not readily accepted by the people. Examining such failures of the programme, the Committee recommends the training of tribal people to be social workers and other personnel, to use tribal institutional patterns and folk literature for introducing the new spirit of integration. By this kind of reshaping the programme, a true tribal touch and colour can be given, and the Committee strongly believes in the successful implementation of such programmes by the Blocks.

So far, the administrator went to the tribal communities to rule and to control in the interest of the rulers. But now realising that they are a very precious part of the large society, the administrator, the physician, the technician, the social worker and all those involved in the programme have to keep in mind that the development of these long neglected people should have proceeded along the lines of their own genius. This Report rightly emphasises the preservance of the tribal culture and its values throughout the execution of the programme. We highly commend this report to the students of Indian anthropology and administrators of tribal areas.

(iii) The Seventh Evaluation Report on Community Development in India, is, as is indicated by the Chairman of the Programme Evaluation Board, in more than one sense, a departure from its predecessors. Apart from evaluation studies it contains case-studies of successful panchayats and cooperatives, and also a fragmentary study of rural unemployment. These studies throw light on important problems with which the community development programme is concerned.

It has been pointed out that the research schemes, sponsored by the government agencies, to study the impact of the Community Development Projects are not free from biases as the researcher is directed by the state in selecting problem-areas, in collecting data required for analysis. This kind of research is not found to be satisfactory as it does not properly reveal the real conditons. The present Report itself, to some extent, reflects this drawback, as the data collected for the purpose of assessment were supplied by the personnel of the programme. This means that the material is not sufficiently tested. It could be suggested, if the authorities are really and seriously interested in the application of scientific knowledge in the developmental activities, that the research institutes and universities should be given adequate facilities without any 'directions' to assess the impact of the ambitious scheme. Reports of such studies, the outcome of direct scientific observation of the field, would be most valuable. However, the present report, barring this drawback, is useful for researcher, planner and administrator as it contains some interesting case-studies, besides the evaluation of the programme.

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Jozef Chalasinski, *Polish Sociological Review*, University of Lodz.

The "Polish Sociological Review" was first issued in 1930. Professor Florian Znaniecki, Professor of Sociology at Poznan University, Poland, was Editor-in-Chief. In the first issue itself it included very important articles like B. Malinowski's "Kinship problems in Recent Studies." Unfortunately the Review met unforeseen difficulties and was first intermittently published, afterwards suspended for nearly 15 years. During part of this period the Review was replaced by the "Polish Review of Historical and Social Sciences" and the latter was published from 1950 to 1956. From 1957 onwards the Review has been regularly issued twice a year, while summaries in English are included. The Sociological Institute at the University of Lodz has undertaken the editorial task. Professor Jozef Chalasinski, Professor of Sociology at Lodz University, is the Editor-in-Chief, and Assistant Professor Jan Lutynski and Antonina Kloskowska are Deputy Editors. (Professor Josef Chalasinski and Professor Antonina Kloskowska are Associate Editors of the 'International Journal of Comparative Sociology').

It is interesting to record that the term 'Social Anthropology' was not in use in Poland in the days of the Review's initial stages. But the similar approach of 'Culture and personality' played a very significant role in shaping and developing Polish sociology under the influence of Znaniecki and Malinowski. The work, "The Polish peasant in Europe and America" by F. Znaniecki and W. I. Thomas, bears testimony to the development of this science, even though Professor Znaniecki disclaimed to be a social anthropologist. It is equally interesting to note that Polish sociologists had affiliation to different schools of thought. For instance, Ludwik Krzywicki (1859–1942) represented the marxist intellectual tradition, while Stefan Czarnowski (1879–1937) belonged to Durkheim's sociological school. The Polish Sociological Review has played an important role in giving vent to different shades of sociological thinking.

At present the Review, in its 15th publication, has clearly indicated its devotion to the cause of social anthropology as can be concluded from the type of articles. Some of the articles are: J. Czekahowski's 'The Feudal Pastoral Kingdoms of Interlaoustrian Africa', A Zajaczkowski's 'Ashanti Tribe in Transition', J. Chalasinski's 'Social Anthropology', A. Kloskowska's 'Ethnic Concepts of School Children in Poland'.

The 15th volume will be published with these and other articles in two numbers in June and December, 1961.

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K. Ishwaran

Herbert Kötter, *The Rural Population in the Process of Social change – A Contribution to Rural Sociology,* Düsseldorf-Köln, Eugen Diederichs, 1958

In the German-speaking area this book meets a long felt need for a summary of the various attempts to explain phenomena of social change in the rural sphere. Rural sociology as a young scientific discipline has shown itself susceptible to oversimplification here and there, in the belief that it is possible to operate with mere antinomies and thus to develop uncritical theories.

The real causes of the changing phenomena are much more complex, however. Kötter is right, therefore, in seeing the clarification of these manifold causes as the primary task of Rural Sociology. In this particular sense also the book is without doubt more than a mere "Contribution to Rural Sociology."

At the beginning of his investigation the author states two premises which determine logically all the conclusions which follow. If the reader is unable to accept even one of these premises, he will not be able to agree without reservation with Kötter's statements. Thus, at its very beginning, the book demands a clear position and refuses to allow a compromise.

These two basic theses from which Kötter derives his statements affirm firstly that there are, in principle, no pairs of opposites such as urban and rural or industry and agriculture as basic sociological categories, and secondly that rural development is determind by the dynamics of the whole society.

Accordingly, "the present day rural structure and social behaviour of the rural population are a function of the society as a whole and are only to be understood in the light of this structure as a whole." Kötter does not deny that in many cases differences exist between town and country, but these can for him be logically only gradual ones. The *regional* differences in the forms of agriculture, on the other hand, are to be explained in the dynamics of the society as a whole.

But in this very point basic problems have their roots. If this society is an industrial one (as integrated social system), then it receives its dynamics from technical progress. Only this makes possible the increase of labour-productivity in agriculture, the release of manpower and thus the process of specialization as a result of division of labour. But with growing technical progress and the achievement of a "relative balance" between technical levels and social forms in the industrial countries, disparity with the agricultural countries increases. These countries, as a result of low labour-productivity and the lack of capital-accumulation, viz. through lack of technical progress, are today still in a state of primeval agrarian poverty which does not allow them to break out of their present "vicious circle". But at this very moment these countries are facing the problem of feeding a growing population and, at the same time, of industrializing their economies. But it is in these very countries, where other economic fields have not been developed, that capital-accumulation can only be achieved as a result of austerity (not on the part of the individual, but of the marketing farms) and by means of rational adaptation of demographic patterns to the particular economic structure.

Preindustrialized Europe was able to overcome her "vicious circle" of primeval poverty by means of such a rational demography. For Kötter, this was a result of the "tendency towards rationality which is typical for the European social structure." This tendency, however, cannot be applied to every non-European situation. Kötter is right, therefore, in emphasizing the primary importance of "human investment" as compared with "technical investment" and the necessity of social and cultural alterations. It is impossible to avoid completely any friction in spite of all precautions, because such sweeping alterations touch the very root of the social structure. However, the only possibility of securing a relatively painless change of social strata is the intellectual mastery of new social forms.

Here the idea comes full circle. Kötter returns to his opening demand for a conscious clarification of the various causes of changing phenomena. From the many problems which are dealt with in this book, only a few could be selected for discussion here. But these give an idea of the range of the present investigation. The study of this standard work is doubtless essential for the Rural Sociologist.

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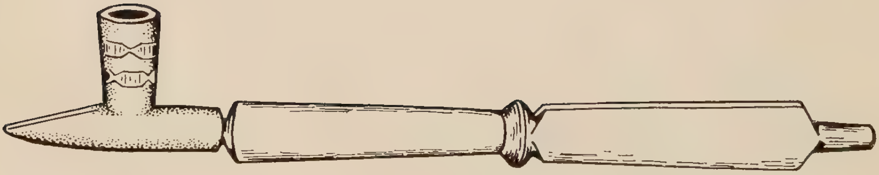
A View of the plenary lession of American Indian Chicago Conference, June 16, 1961.



"Peace-Pipe" of American Indian, a traditional symbol of peace and emblem of American Indian Chicago Conference.

Editorial

When Dr. Ishwaran was kind enough to invite me to act as guest editor for an issue of this journal to be devoted to the sociology of education, I was glad to accept for three reasons. First, the journal is an admirable forum for the publication of current papers in a field which is at once fast-growing and the object of attention of several disciplines within the social sciences. Second, it is clear that in its recent revival, the sociology of education has shown itself to be of special relevance to a major theme of the journal-the study of social change as conditioned by urbanisation, industrialisation and cross cultural contacts. Jean Floud and I have recently written a trend report to elaborate this thesis and, with C. Arnold Anderson, have put together a reader in the sociology of education to illustrate it.[1] Third, I believe, with those who initiated the journal, that the comparative study of institutions constitutes the central core of the diverse array of topics grouped under the title of sociology.

As to the first and second beliefs, the papers included in this issue represent some of the characteristic contemporary interests in Europe and America among sociologists of education. Various as they are, and certainly ranging beyond the boundaries of industrial society, these interests share an underlying concern with the relationship between education and social change. In practice, this means a concern with the causes and consequences of educational expansion whether as a response to the pressures of advanced industrialism or as an engine of industrialisation in the underdeveloped countries. Thus the articles by Martin Trow and Burton Clark offer a comprehensive analysis of the changing shape and scope of education in the most advanced form of industrial society, and Professor Trow's essay may be compared with the slower adaptation of English secondary education to similar economic pressures under different conditions of social structure and tradition. Similarly, Madame Peyre's analysis of the social distribution of educational opportunity in France gives us an example of a universal problem with varying manifestation according to the stage and speed of technological advance-a problem which is only now beginning to receive general comparative analysis.[1] And again, the contributions by James Davis and Hasso von Recum throw light on the changing mode of recruitment of teachers under modern conditions of educational expansion.

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[1] cf. The Sociology of Education: A Trend Report and Bibliography, Current Sociology Vol. VII, IV, 3 1958 *(the whole issue)* and our *Education Economy and Society*, N.Y., Free Press, 1961.

At the other end of the scale of educational growth, we have essays by Manning Nash and Joseph Fischer at the University of Chicago where education is attracting increasing attention as a key to economic and political development. Both authors report on material collected in their recent anthropological field studies designed to further comparative knowledge of the new nations.

As to my second belief – in the value of comparative studies – this collection of essays gives less ground for satisfaction. For it constitutes material for comparison rather than comparative sociology as such. The basis of comparison is implicit rather than explicit and a viable general theory of the relation between education, economy, and society remains a scarcely touched, if exciting task for the future in the sociology of education.

A. H. Halsey
Guest editor

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[1] cf. A. H. Halsey (ed.) *Ability and Educational Opportunity* O.E.E.C., Paris, 1962.

Education in a New Nation
The Village School in Upper Burma

by

MANNING NASH

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If the industrial nations are agitated by questions of education for what and for whom, the newly developing nations of Asia and Africa have a clear and broad mandate for their systems of education. In Burma the object of education is not in doubt: Education is to serve as one of the means of social transformation from a raw material producing society where the bulk of the people had a narrow, peasant, traditonal view to a diversified, somewhat industrialized society able to absorb and use the most modern of scientific knowledge: it is to build a modern nation of responsible citizens. Every Burman has the right to education and the government is dedicated to provide the maximum opportunities for all. The objectives are clear, the ideology not a matter of debate, but the task imposed on educational agencies is enormous. Against the historical background of education in Burma and the functioning of schools at the village level, where 85 per cent of the Burmans live, it is possible to form some assessment of the forces that shape an educational organization in a new nation, resolved to enter the modern world in the form of a socialist democracy.

In this paper, I concentrate on the village level school, not because anthropologists are committed to a worm's eye view of society, but rather because the same kinds of variables are in play at the village level as in the national society, and because the national picture is well summarized in Tinker (1959, pp. 191-222). Also I have first hand material gathered from a year's field work in Upper Burma[1] of the sort of intimate detail which pins down and humanizes the larger historical forces shaping the educational establishment of Burma.

Burma's school system grew from religious roots. Prior to British conquest and annexation, monastic education was virtually the only kind available. All Burmese boys and many girls went to the *phongyi kyaung* to learn the elements of reading and writing, and some of the lore of Buddhism. Beyond these schools were higher ones concentrating on deeper and subtler aspects of Buddhist teaching

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[1] Field work was conducted from August 1960 to June 1961 under a grant from the National Science Foundation. Travel and survey work was aided by funds from the Committee for the Comparative Study of New Nations, University of Chicago. The remarks in this paper do not extend to the hill peoples of Burma, nor do I know their applicability to the Delta area.

Education was in the hand of the monks, *phongyis*, oriented to religious subjects, dependant on traditional material, and given over to emphasis on memorization, rote learning, instilling a great respect for received knowledge.

With the coming of the British and some American Mission schools, new dimensions were added to the educational system. A university, Rangoon, was founded and a system of primary, middle and high schools, leading up to it were instituted. At the same time the monastic system of village education continued, as it does to this day.

The colonial secular education was formed by the prevailing notions of education in the early 1900's and by the needs of British Burma. Though there is not much rancour in present day Burma about the colonial legacy, it is the concensus of the educated and governing segments that education under the British was, in the words of Prime Minister U Nu, designed "to produce salaried servants in their imperialistic machine".[1] As early as the 1920's the university manifested the syndrome of that malaise which continues to plague it. First as a government agency it was subjected to ministerial pressures and political influences. Being in the political orbit, the tactic of the strike became a favorite weapon at the university. Students at Rangoon are notorious for agitation, high volitality, and the presenting of demands to the faculty, administration, and government.

Sheer numbers, the problem of finding room for students, has always plagued the university. Since students stay around virtually as long as they like, irrespective of academic performance, and new ones must be admitted, the student body mushrooms beyond the capacity of personnel and physical plant. There has always been a continual pressure on standards. And they were lowered again in 1960, leading to the resignation of the vice chancellor.

The University at Rangoon is still caught in the political turmoil, the student strike and agitation, and the continual pressure on academic standards. It is over-developed on the Arts faculty side. In pre-independence days this was explained by the structure of opportunities available to graduates: the civil service. And now that is still the chief opportunity for a young graduate, and the aim of most of the student body.

At Mandalay, the college has been raised to the status of University. With the aid of outside funds (Ford Foundation) there was the hope of building on fresh foundations a university of good, modern, diversified curricula. Without the historical legacy of serving as political agitation center for independence, with a small student body, without the barnacles of the past, Mandalay offered an opportunity to set an example of what could be done with higher education in a newly developing nation. But the experiment is in temporary suspension. The vice chancellor was suspended, later relieved, and a new man appointed in 1961. Headless, the University sat back and waited for new leadership. It has problems of staffing now, and there is some controversy over the Burmanization of the faculty. To tide it over the early days, Indian, American, and British lecturers were employed. There is currently a drive to give preference to Burmans, and sometimes this leads to problems of whether the best academic man does get the open post. It is too soon to judge the Mandalay experience. How resistant it will prove to the malaise that afflicts its sister, senior institution, only time will show.

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[1] U. Nu. Convocation Address at Rangoon University, 22nd December 1951.

The pre-war system of Burma was split by two axes: age (into primary, middle, and high schools) and language (vernacular, Anglo-vernacular, and English schools), and administered by many different authorities. Primary education was chiefly in the hands of private headmasters, who could be "recognized" and get government aid. A couple of hundred monastic schools agreed to the syllabus of the Education department, and about half of the high schools were in the hands of Christian missionaries (Tinker, p. 192). At any rate, most Burmans continued to get a rather traditional education, with few in the stream leading toward the University and the modern world. Pre-war Burma, in educational philosophy for higher education at least, shared the prevalent belief that education was for an elite, though talent, not wealth or family, was the key to entry to the schooling that marked one as a member of the elite.

World War II and the Japanese occupation and a decade of civil war following independence virtually destroyed the educational system of Burma. The physical plant, the training of teachers, the provision of books and laboratories, all had virtually to be begun from scratch. Only the new goals and demands on education and the increase in the student numbers sorely taxed the abilities of Burma to provide them. The following tables[1] indicate the rates of growth in the educational system:

SCHOOLS AND TEACHERS

	State				*Recognized*			
	High	*Middle*	*Primary*	*Teachers*	*High*	*Middle*	*Primary*	*Teachers*
1952	108	72	3,335	9,318	10	5	7	200
1953	148	227	5,507	16,652	9	6	21	227
1954	202	347	8,888	21,679	?	?	?	?
1955	220	405	8,951	27,997	?	?	?	?

PUPILS

	State			*Recognized*		
	High	*Middle*	*Primary*	*High*	*Middle*	*Primary*
1952	10,670	35,103	392,398	1,595	1,404	3,975
1953	16,628	54,960	633,707	948	1,914	2,361
1954	23,169	80,426	771,525	?	?	?
1955	42,600	103,600	10,196,000	?	?	?

[1] From Hugh Tinker, *The Union of Burma*. Second Edition, Oxford 1959. p. 197.

In 1960–61 in Burma's 30,000 village tracts, only about 10,000 of them have primary schools and some neither *kyaung* nor government schools. Most Burmans still get their education thought the monastic school, though a third of eligible children do have a crack at a Primary secular school. Education in Burma cannot be made compulsory. There are just not the facilities to handle all the children. Even if the physical plant were available, qualified teachers are not (especially in upper teaching levels) and books and other aids are scarce.

Against the background of the hope of Burmese education and constraints in personnel and plant, I shall examine two village schools: a primary school in a wet rice village; and a mixed monastic and secular school in dry crop village. The intention is to show how the schools work and what the students get out of them, and in passing to illustrate the enormous complications that underlie the oft voiced contention 'that education transforms society".

About 40 miles south and west of Mandalay, in the Sagaing district, lies the village of Nondwin. Nondwin is a representative mixed cropping dry zone community. I chose to study it because it was ordinary, demographically, culturally, economically, and so far as data went, historically. The community makes its living by cultivating cotton, sesamum, beans, pulses, maize, and a few garden crops. Apart from a tailor, kettle maker, pig breeder, school teacher and cotton broker, everyone makes his living through agriculture. It is a peasant village set in a grove of trees, with its houses scattered along a dusty trail which is the village's main street. There are in the village proper, no public buildings, only the houses and the sheds, and the storehouses for rice, cotton and sesamum. About a mile or two outside of the village are two phongyi kyaungs. There are the resident monks who serve the village. In one of the kyaungs is the village primary school. The school is conducted on the same premises as the *phongyi kyaung*, and the young monastic scholars and the secular students mix and take classes together. The kyaung where the *koyin* (novices) and the *kyaungtha* (students) take classes is a wooden structure raised on high stilts. The classroom is on the concrete floor below the building itself. It is open to the four winds. A score of wooden desks spaced out facing a blackboard is the physical layout. In the main classroom several grades (or standards as they are called in Burma, following British usage) are grouped together. Only the younger, first standard students, are kept apart in another open classroom. In the school are 70 students, 15 girls and 55 boys. In the kyaung, under the phongyi are 21 koyin, 18 of whom get only religious education, the other three younger boys take some work with the primary school teacher. In the other kyaung, to the west of the village are 15 students taught only by the monks. The whole school population of Nondwin is thus 106 students. With a population of 553, this is nearly everybody who is in fact eligible to go to school, even though education is not compulsory.

Education, for the Nondwin boy or girl virtually stops at the fourth standard. In the last two years, only four students, (2 boys and 2 girls) have gone beyond the fourth standard.

The differences between the phongyi kyaung and the state primary school lie chiefly in the content, not the method of education. The state primary school besides reading and writing, teaches some history, arithmetic, geography, and general science. The phongyi kyaung teaches only reading and writing, a bit of Pali (the language of the Buddhist scriptures) and some bits of Buddhist cosmology and the life of the Buddha. The only point of friction between the curricula lies in geography. The state school teaches about the globe and uses mercator maps. The kyaung imparts the traditional four island, many levelled world of Hindu cosmology. The children learn both and believe but one, the Buddhist.

In way of teaching the schools are virtually identical (except that phongyis still beat recalcitrant students and civil teachers have suspended that practice). The teacher's role is one of great respect, and the gap between him and the student is marked by a great gulf. In traditional Buddhist belief the things most worthy of honor are the Buddha, the Sangha (the monkhood), the Dhamma (the teaching), the parents, and the teacher. At many ceremonials these five honorable things are remembered, and children are always hearing about the debt incurred to the teacher. The teacher is the repository of knowledge. He knows, and he leads the student forward into knowledge. The student used to, and in monastic schools still does, perform many services for his teachers. He carries things for him, brings him tea, may do odd jobs around the teacher's house, and even bring to the teacher problems of deep personal concern. Addressing a teacher a student always uses the respectful *hsaya* (master) or if the teacher is old and venerable, *hsayagyi* (great, or large master). The student is always addressed by name, prefixed by *ma* (for a woman) or *maung* (for a man) both indicating junior status. This role definition of teacher influences the way of teaching. Couple this with the prevalent belief that knowledge is a fixed, or nearly fixed thing, to be transmitted from a respected elder to a subordinate junior and one gets the framework of Burmese teaching.

The teaching is rote learning. The teacher writes something on the blackboard. The students read it aloud in unison. Their job is to get it letter perfect. Questions are asked of them, asking them only to repeat what the teacher has given. The only questions students ask are questions of clarification of the material, if they do not understand it or hear. They would never challenge it, or say they had heard differently, or that they know differently. For a Burmese pupil to question his hsaya is nearly unthinkable. If the hsaya says it, is is right, and I must learn it that way, is the thinking of a student. From the first standard to the university this lack of questioning, challenging, curiosity is a feature of Burmese education.

The role of teacher is just one of a number of senior and respect roles, which *vis a vis* the junior alter, questioning and doubt are barred. Burmese village education is not designed to open the mind, to train it for further exploration, to give it tools for the analysis of new experience. The method of teaching is fitted to stuff the mind, to train the memory, and to fix a respect for what is known. Students are rewarded for feats of memory, for long letter perfect recitations, for knowing answers to standard questions.

Such a method of teaching, and the definition of the teacher-student relationship, putting aside for the moment content, is much more suited to social continuity and stability than it is to social change and innovation. The village educational system is a means of cultural transmission, not cultural change. Both the phongyi kyaung and the state school, as they now operate, contribute to the maintenance of traditional culture. This is the self-imposed role of the phongyi kyaung, but at variance with what the state system is supposed to be doing. But it fits the rest of Burmese village society. Education does not stop at the school exit, but, of course, goes on in the home, in the play group, in the whole round of social interaction in fact. And in these other educational places the same features are observed: learning flows from respected elder to awful junior, with a premium for rote learning. The educational system of the village is not detached enough from the rest of the institutional complex to have its own dynamic, standards, or ethics. It is but a further extension of a society teaching its young to be well built-in members.

Although education, in the abstract, is one of the most highly valued things in Burmese life, support for schools and teachers is meagre at the local level. In Nondwin, books are few, benches and desks in short supply, and even a simple building for the school is lacking. The teacher has tried to get the people of Nondwin to make contributions to buy or build these things. They have turned a deaf ear. They say there is a national government to provide these things; it is not their worry. They have no social sense about government projects, and will not voluntarily donate time or money toward them. Village Burmans donate money and time chiefly to religious ends. They would not be without a phongyi kyaung, and they would not see a monk in need of any of the requiste articles, but a school and its equipment leaves them unmoved. The sense of *civitas*, in which the pedagogical aspect is the means of making citizens is replaced in the community of Nondwin by the more basic process of enculturation, the induction of the young into the conventional understandings of the society. The fundamental sense that education is but a way of refining and deepening what everyone knows, or should know, is a barrier to the development of local interest and initiative in provinding educational facilities. As the villager says, education only requires wise teachers and patient, plodding students. Only the teacher really requires books, and buildings are not essential.

The concern of villagers in communities of Upper Burma like Nondwin is a mixture of the mundane business of making a living, getting along with relatives and neighbours, earning respect and honour, and the religious activity of laying up kutho (merit) so that a favourable rebirth may come in the next life. If education does not bear on these concerns, it does not mean much to the village Burman. Education as a consumption good, as a thing in itself, is not in village purview. Education should lead to success in the economic sphere – and that's why village boys go beyond the fourth standard, to be clerks, teachers, or civil servants – it should conduce to the accumulation of kutho, and that's why the kyaung schools or the sangha is chosen. And it should lead to a display of refinement of common knowledge, for that is the way that the educated get respect. An education oriental to handling nature, changing the world, raising doubts, or making explorations is not for the villager, and not worth his time and resources. It is on these grounds that girls get less education than do boys, that attendance is spotty, and that every household or religious task has priority over education. For the villager, local education results in a barely functional literacy, an ability to read the occasional newspaper, consult the sacred writings, and sign his name when the government requires it.

In Nondwin, the teacher, and his sister who is his assistant, are not native to the village. They come from a nearby village. This, may in part, account for their inability to raise local support for the school equipment, but it cannot account for their bad luck with the national authorities. The village teacher is the lowest rung of the educational hierarchy. He must go through the channels of headmaster, supervisor, inspector, etc., to make any sort of demand. The ministry of education is beseiged by demand and cannot accede or even pay attention to most of them. The teachers do form an organization and meet in the district headquarters at Sagaing. Here they discuss problems of teaching in the villages, air their grievances before superiors, and hear the government answers and plans. But the village school teacher is like the villager, he feels powerless before the authority and might of the government. His only mode of coping with it is that of compliance in the official context. If he wants to make himself felt, he must join a political party and bring political pressures to bear through the teachers' organizations. The teacher, much more than the villager, is aware of the basic fact that educational decisions are really political events. For the personnel of the educational system, local education is at once too much and too little politicized. Too much so, because the parties, not the educational experts decide the direction of Burmese education, and too little so, because the teachers are not well enough organized, or important enough in the political arena to make themselves felt.

A brief comparison with the rice farming community of Yadaw, just about seven miles south of Mandalay, underwrites and amplifies some of the contentions offered above. Yadaw has a single state primary school, situated near the center of the village. There are two phongyi kyaungs near the village, but they receive only koyin. All the schooling for children of Yadaw is through the secular state school. Children can attend from the first to the fourth standard in Yadaw's school. Like Nondwin, the school and the educational method is made up of the same kinds of elements. Within Upper Burma, one does not move from distinct local culture to distinct local culture, rather one sees the same elements, the same patterns, slightly re-arranged and differently combined to fit the local ecology, economy, demography, and historical circumstance. So Yadaw exhibits that teacher-pupil relationship which characterized Nondwin. It has that same element of *anade*, a complex idea, of feeling reluctance or shame, if a junior should ask unseemly questions of a senior, or the impossibility of a pupil contradicting his hsaya. And the teaching stresses the same mechanical learning procedures and offers the same rewards for memorization. It is a dreary sight to see the pupils bending over their slates and all reciting in unison the words or figures the teacher has put on the blackboard. The school is also an embedded institution with no autonomy and no direction of its own. The local people do not control it, barely support, and expect it to give their children only minimal skills.

In the four standards of Yadaw there are 110 children on the rolls. The first standard has 82 students, and the fourth has only 10. In the first standard are 36 boys and 46 girls, in the fourth, 8 boys and 2 girls. This numerical and sex skewing rests chiefly on economic grounds. Yadaw is a poor village. Many of its people have barely enough land to even meet the modest needs of the Burmese peasant. And rice growing is a labour intensive business for several months of the year. Education competes with child labour in the fields, and at the age of the fourth standard (about 10 or 11) a child is a useful field hand. Girls can help their mothers as well as work in the fields, so they drop out more drastically than do boys. Even in the lower standards attendance is spasmodic. For the four months of data I have on Yadaw, daily school attendance averaged about 80 of the 110 on the rolls. Regular attendance is a problem the school teachers of Yadaw have been unable to solve.

The school is scheduled to have three teachers. In fact there is only one. There is a teacher shortage at the village level, and it is easy to understand why. This teacher is a native of Yadaw, she has family, friends and neighbours here. It is for her a second income (her husband is also a village teacher in another village). She has only a seventh standard education plus a year training course in elementary teaching back in the 1930's. For her, teaching in Yadaw is a reasonable, useful, and not unexciting life. For the young graduate from a teacher training school, life in a poor village is repellant. Being assigned to a village is almost a sentence to isolation, boredom, and frustration for a young graduate. And the salaries of beginning teachers do not compensate for these evils. It takes great devotion and idealism for a rural teacher to stick out his job.

What Yadaw indicates is the pressure of poverty upon the Burmese village educational system. Poverty has the expected effects: reduced attendance, skewing toward the early years, predominance of the economically less useful over the more useful in school. Poverty does not shape the Burmese village school, it is not the root of its difficulties; it merely exacerbates them. The point is here laboured because there is a prevalent belief that money and means would solve all the ills of local education. What increased funds would do, more likely, is merely to shift schools like Yadaw's toward the full achievement of the Burmese pattern as exemplified in Nondwin and other villages.

In Upper Burma, I surveyed some 36 villages, and in most visited the school or phongyi kyaung. These other brief glimpses of local education have only served to corroborate the fuller picture of Nondwin and Yadaw. For example, in the town of Ondaw where a government middle school is operating, a class in English was visited. The teacher asked some of the students to speak to me and show what they were learning. A boy stood up and in response to my question of how old are you, said in flawless English: "I am thirteen years old, sir." I asked a smaller boy, and he replied, "I am thirteen years old, sir." I turned to a little girl, "I am thirteen years old, sir" she said a bit less expertly. The teacher beamed. "They are learning their English" he proudly said. No more vivid demonstration of the rote, routine, memorising character of local education could be imagined.

This sketch of village schools as viewed through two typical Upper Burma communities indicates the magnitude of the task the Government of Burma has set itself in the education fields. If education is to serve as one of the means of social transformation, the local societies and cultures which carry on the schools must first change. The local definitions of education, the role of teacher and pupil, the way the school is built into the community, the conception of knowledge, the image of an educated person – all these militate against the school and education playing the role of innovator, of transformer, of catalyst for the birth of the modern world in Burma's villages.

The problem of education in a new nation with development aspirations is a political problem and a matter of social and cultural change. The higher echelons of education – the universities and advanced training schools – are inevitably involved in the political arena. Getting them organized as institutions for the transmission, conservation, and innovation of knowledge rests on the prior solution of the political problems agitating the new nation. On the local level change in the economic, religious, and interpersonal relations are an antecedent to change in the educational system. From Burma's village schools the broad contention may be hazarded that in newly developing nations the local schools tend to be conservative agents transmitting by means that reinforce local tendencies toward stability. It is a function of economic and social development to make the school and the educational system a locus and agent of social change, not the other way round. Education serves as a means of social change when the school and its personnel are in some part detached from, and even opposed to, the prevailing cultural norms and social arrangements. Education becomes a force for change through the process of social change, and in new nations like Burma the solution of political and economic problems are likely to bring in their wake modifications in the educational system. These aphoristic like conclusions are offered partly as a goad to a recasting of thought on the role of education in Non-Western societies, and partly as admonishment to the holder of the unexamined article of faith that education is the royal road to change and development.

SECONDARY EDUCATION

The Second Transformation of American Secondary Education

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The past few years have seen a very large amount of public controversy over education in America. The controversy has touched on every aspect and level of education, from nursery school to graduate education, and the spokesmen have represented many different interests and points of view. But the focus of the controversy has been the public high school, its organization and curriculum, and the philosophy of education that governs it. On one side, with many individual exceptions and variations in views, stand the professional educators and their organizations. As the creators and administrators of the existing system, American educators not surprisingly by and large defend it, and while accepting and even initiating specific reforms, tend to justify existing practices, institutional arrangements, and dominant philosophies of education. On the other side, a more heterogeneous body of laymen, college and university professors, politicians and military men have attacked fundamental aspects of secondary education in America. The disputes extend over a broad range of educational issues, but at the heart of the argument is the charge by the critics that the *quality* of American secondary education is poor, that the time and energies of teachers and students are scattered and dispersed over a great variety of activities and subjects, and that there ought to be far greater emphasis on intellectual training, academic subject matter, and the acquisition of traditional skills and knowledge.[1] Very often, the call for reform is coupled with attacks on the policies and philosophies of professional educators; the critics claim that a watered-down progressive education, doctrines of "life adjustment," the "child-centered school" and the "education of the whole person" have provided the rationale for an indifference to the acquisition of knowledge and the development of clarity of thought and expression which students gain when held to high standards of achievement in course work centering on the traditional "solid" subject matters of English, history, mathematics and the natural sciences.

The public debate has largely restricted itself to issues internal to education-to the curriculum, to teacher training and certification, and the like. But the forces that most heavily affect developments within education largely lie outside it, and are often not reflected in the debates about it. It may be useful to consider some of the historical forces which give rise to the current controversies over secondary education.

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[1] For discussion and analysis of the controversy, and references to representative books and articles about the issues, see Paul Woodring, *A Fourth of a Nation* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1957), Chapters i–iii. For a very different view of the controversy and the issues, see Myron Lieberman, *The Future of Public Education* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1960), Chapters i and ii.

The Transformation of America

The Civil War is the great watershed of American history. It stands midway between the Revolution and ourselves, and symbolically, but not just symbolically, separates the agrarian society of small farmers and small businessmen of the first half of the nineteenth century from the urbanized industrial society with its salaried employees that followed. And the mass public secondary school system as we know it has its roots in the transformation of the economy and society that took place after the Civil War.

In 1820, at least 7 out of every 10 Americans in the labor force were farmers or farm laborers. In 1870, farmers still comprised about half the labor force. By 1960, that figure was below 10 per cent. At the same time, the proportion of salaried white collar workers rose from less than 10 per cent in 1870 to nearly 40 per cent today.[1] The proportion of non-farm manual workers in the labor force rose until 1920, leveled off at about 40 per cent since then and has shown signs of falling over the past decade. Thus, there has been a large and rapid growth of a new salaried middle class, paralleled by a large and rapid decline in the proportion of the labor force in agriculture, with the proportions of manual workers rising till about 1920 but relatively constant over the past forty years.

These changes in the occupational structure have reflected tremendous changes in the economy and organization of work. Since the Civil War, and especially in the past fifty years, an economy based on thousands of small farms and businesses has been transformed into one based on large bureaucratized organizations characterized by centralized decision-making and administration carried out through coordinated managerial and clerical staffs.

When small organizations grow large, papers replace verbal orders; papers replace rule of thumb calculations of price and profit; papers carry records of work flow and inventory that in a small operation can be seen at a glance on the shop floor and materials shed. And as organizations grew, people had to be trained to handle those papers – to prepare them, to type them, to file them, to process them, to assess and use them. The growth of the secondary school system after 1870 was in large part a response to the pull of the economy for a mass of white collar employees with more than an elementary school education.

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[1] Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1960* (Eighty-first edition, Washington, D.C.: 1960), Table 279, p. 216. Donald J. Bogue, *The Population of the United States* (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1959). Kurt Mayer, "Recent Changes in the Class Structure of the United States," *Transactions of the Third World Congress of Sociology* (Amsterdam: 1956), III, 66–80.

The First Transformation of American Secondary Education

In 1870 there were roughly 80,000 students enrolled in high schools of all kinds in this country, and the bulk of these were in tuition academies. Public high schools were just beginning to grow in numbers – there were perhaps no more than 500 in the whole country, concentrated in the Northeast, and still greatly outnumbered by the tuition academies.[1] The 16,000 high school graduates in that year comprised only about 2 per cent of the seventeen year olds in the country.[2] Moreover, a very large proportion of those who went to secondary school went on to college.[3]

The American secondary school system of 1870 offered a classical liberal education to a small number of middle and upper middle class boys.[4] Very few students went to secondary school, most who went graduated, and many who graduated went on to college. By 1910, there were over 1,100,000 high school students, nearly 90 per cent of them enrolled in the over 10,000 public high schools, and they comprised about 15 per cent of the 14–17 year age group.[5] But for the bulk of these students, high school was as far as they were going. By 1957, 90 per cent of the 14–17 year age group were in school, while 62 per cent of the 17 year old cohort were gaining high school diplomas. Before 1870, the small secondary school system offered a curriculum and maintained standards of scholarship geared to the admissions requirements of the colleges.[6] After 1870, the growing mass secondary system was largely terminal, providing a useful and increasingly vocational education for the new body of white collar workers.

The evidence for the connection between education and occupation that developed after the Civil War is embedded in the census reports. In 1950, at the end of the fifty year period that might be called "the age of the terminal high school" the median years of schooling completed by men and women 25 years and older in various occupational groups were as follows:[7]

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[1] Ellwood P. Cubberley, *Public Education in the United States* (New York: Houghton-Mifflen Co., 1934), pp. 255, 627.

[2] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957* (Washington, D.C.: 1960), p. 207.

[3] Compare the annual output of the secondary schools in 1870 (16,000 graduates) with the total college enrollment of 52,000 in that year. *Ibid.*

[4] On the academies in the nineteenth century, see E. E. Brown, *The Making of Our Middle Schools* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1903). While the early academies were not intended as preparatory schools, "the idea of liberal culture (was) the dominant note of both academy and college education in the nineteenth century." (*Ibid.*, p. 229.)

[5] U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, *Progress of Public Education in the United States, 1959–60* (Washington, D.C.: 1960), Table 2, p. 11. *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957*, p. 207.

[6] Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 231.

[7] Bogue, *op. cit.*, Table 17–11, p. 510. For over sixty years, the dominant stereotype of social class in America, based on solid reality but enshrined in folk-lore and mass fiction, has been that white collar people have been to high school, while manual workers by and large have not. These educational and class cleavages in America have also roughly coincided with religious and ethnic cleavages – between the older Protestant immigration from

professionals:	16+
managers, officials, and proprietors:	11.3
clerical and kindred:	11.4
sales workers:	11.2
craftsmen, foremen, and kindred:	8.3
operatives and kindred:	7.7
laborers, except mine and farm:	7.0
service workers:	7.8

Of course, changes in the occupational structure do not provide the whole explanation of the extraordinary growth of secondary and higher education in the United States. The changes in the occupational structure have raised the educational aspirations of large parts of the American population, and the educational system has been responsive to these higher aspirations. The role of public education in American thought and popular sentiment, and its perceived connection with the national welfare and individual achievement, have, at least until recently, been greater in America than in any other country. Other countries, Great Britain to name one, have had comparable revolutions in their economic structure without comparable educational transformations. The commitment of America to equality of opportunity, the immense importance attached to education throughout American history, the very great role of education as an avenue of mobility in a society where status ascribed at birth is felt to be an illegitimate barrier to advancement – all of these historical and social psychological forces are involved in the extraordinary American commitment to mass secondary and higher education. Moreover, there were forces involved in the growth of the high school – such as large scale immigration and urbanization, and the movement to abolish child labor[1] – which are not present in the growth of mass higher education, whereas transformations of the occupational structure are common to both educational movements.

Now, the creation of a system of mass secondary education that accompanied the growth of mass organizations after 1870 could not be simply the extension of the old elite secondary system; it would be different in function (terminal rather than preparatory) and in organization (public locally controlled rather than private tuition and endowed schools). Moreover, it needed its own curriculum and its own teacher-training programs and institutions. It needed its own teacher-training programs first because the sheer number of secondary teachers required by mass secondary education was far beyond the capacities of the

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(Contd. from page 146)
Northern and Western Europe and the later Catholic immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe. But the educational dimension of this cleavage is now changing. See below, p. 152, footnote 1.

[1] Although "the raising of the school-leaving age in many states followed the change in the pattern of school attendance of a majority of the youth." James Conant, *The Child, The Parent and The State* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959), p. 95.

traditional colleges to supply, as they had supplied the older tuition academies.[1] In the old academies, the principals and masters were products of the colleges, and often went on to teach in the colleges; there was no sharp break between the academies and the colleges since they taught roughly the same subjects to the same kinds of students.[2] This was no longer possible with the new terminal public high school; the students were different, the curriculum was not preparation for college, by and large, and new Departments of Education and State Teachers Colleges were created at least in part to train the staffs of these new high schools.[3] These centers of professional education were not identified with the older, elite traditions of higher education, but created their own traditions of education for life, for citizenship, for useful tasks, the traditions, that is, of the mass democratic terminal secondary system that came to full flower between 1910 and 1940.[4]

By 1935, an observer sympathetic to these developments could write:

> The twentieth century so far has witnessed a steady shifting of ... control [over secondary education] by college presidents and faculties to people more immediately concerned with the operation or professional study of secondary education ... Not only are national committees dealing with the general aspects of secondary education becoming exclusively manned by secondary school leaders and specialists, but the whole process of curriculum making for high schools within states and within local school systems is rapidly becoming assumed by these professional categories. High school courses of study are less and less often handed down by college authorities even in the old academic fields. Secondary textbooks are more and more written by public school superintendents, high school principals, supervisors, teachers, and students of educational methods.
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> A further evidence of this general trend is the continuing introduction of new subjects and courses. Whereas in the past most new subjects appeared in the secondary school as reflec-

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[1] The number of public high school teachers increased from about 20,000 in 1900 to over 200,000 in 1930. U.S. Office of Education, *Biennial Survey of Education, 1928–1930, Bulletin*, No. 20, Vol. II (1931), pp. 8, 222.

[2] "In 1872, 70 per cent of the students entering the eastern colleges were graduates of the academies." Cubberley, *op. cit.*, p. 260, footnote 1.

[3] On the upgrading of Normal Schools to the status of four year State Teachers Colleges, and the establishment of departments of education in other colleges and universities in the decades before 1920, see Benjamin W. Frazier, "History of the Professional Education of Teachers in the United States," and E. S. Evenden et al., "Summary and Interpretations," U.S. Office of Education, *National Survey of Education, Bulletin 1933*, No. 10, Vols. V and VI (1935).

[4] "During the first half of the present century, while many liberal arts colleges turned their backs on the problems of teacher education, legal requirements for certification were established in nearly all states. ... [W]hile the liberal arts colleges were preoccupied with other things, while they ignored the problems of teacher education, a like-minded group of school administrators and other professional educators came to agreement among themselves on the necessity for professional preparation for teachers and transmitted their convictions into law. It was during this same period that the educators became imbued with a new philosophy of education, one far removed from the academic traditions of the liberal arts colleges." Paul Woodring, *New Directions in Teacher Education* (New York: The Fund for the Advancement of Education, 1957), p. 23. See also Merle L. Borrowman, *The Liberal and Technical in Teacher Education* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1956).

> tions of the growing differentiation of the academic disciplines, most of the new subjects now appearing represent hitherto neglected aspects of social existence. As illustrations may be cited innumerable vocational courses, health courses, citizenship courses, and character courses.[1]

In the fifty years between 1880 and 1930, the numbers of students in public high schools in the United States roughly doubled every decade, rising from 110,000 to nearly four and a half million. And the new secondary education was shaped both by the enormous increase in numbers of students, and by their social characteristics. Many of the new students were in school unwillingly, in obedience to the new or more stringent state compulsory education laws; many came from poor, culturally impoverished homes and had modest vocational goals; many of these were the sons and daughters of recent immigrants, and seemed to observers very much in need of "Americanization."[2] These new students posed new problems for secondary education; and these problems, and the answers which they engendered, transformed public secondary education, its philosophy and its curriculum. Commenting on the influential National Education Association Report of 1918 entitled *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education*, a report strongly influenced by the writings of John Dewey, and responsive to the new demands of mass secondary education, James Conant observes:

> Confronted with a "heterogeneous high school population destined to enter all sorts of occupations," high school teachers and administrators and professors of education needed some justification for a complete overhauling of a high school curriculum originally designed for a homogeneous student body. The progressives with their emphasis on the child, "on learning by doing," on democracy and citizenship, and with their attack on the arguments used to support a classical curriculum were bringing up just the sort of *new* ideas that were sorely needed. After closing John Dewey's volume, *Democracy and Education*, I had the feeling that, like the Austro-Hungarian Empire of the nineteenth century, if John Dewey hadn't existed he would have had to be invented. In a sense perhaps he was, or at least his doctrines were shaped by school people with whom he talked and worked.[3]

The creation of a mass terminal system, with functions and orientations quite different from that of the traditional college preparatory system it succeeded, forced not merely certain changes in the curriculum, but a drastic shift in the basic assumptions underlying secondary education. Speaking of the writings of G. Stanley Hall in support of the "child-centered school," Lawrence Cremin notes that they

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[1] Matthew H. Willing, "Recent Trends in American Secondary Education," in William S. Gray, ed., *The Academic and Professional Preparation of Secondary-School Teachers* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1935), pp. 8–9, 12. See also Alfred L. Hall-Quest, *Professional Secondary Education in the Teachers Colleges*, "Contributions to Education," No. 169 (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1925), pp. 20–27.

[2] During the twelve years immediately preceding World War I, an average of almost one million new immigrants a year arrived in America; they were predominantly from Southern and Eastern Europe, and settled chiefly in the big cities of the Midwest and the Eastern seabord.

[3] Conant, *op. cit.*, pp. 93–94.

> paved the way for a fundamental shift in the meaning of equal opportunity at the secondary level. Formerly, when the content and purpose of the secondary school had been fairly well defined, equal opportunity meant the right of all who might profit from secondary education as so defined to enjoy its benefits. Now, the "given" of the equation was no longer the school with its content and purposes, but the children with their background and needs. Equal opportunity now meant simply the right of all who came to be offered something of value, and it was the school's obligation to offer it. The magnitude of this shift cannot be overestimated; it was truly Copernican in character. And tied as it was to the fortunes of the child-study movement, it gained vast popularity during the first decade of the twentieth century.[1]

The popularity of these new ideas and assumptions, and their impact on secondary education in the succeeding decades, suggests how educational doctrines are influenced by social trends.[2] With schools full of children for whom the traditional content and purpose of the secondary school curriculum were irrelevant, educators needed some rationale and justification for what they were doing. And what they were doing was trying to teach something that promised to be of some use for these terminal students, in ways that would hold, at least fleetingly, the interest of indifferent students whose basic interests lay outside the classroom. It was precisely the interest and motivation that one could no longer assume in the student, but had to engender in the school, that lay at the heart of W. H. Kilpatrick's influential *The Project Method*,[1] and before that, underlay the importance of motivation in Dewey's writings.

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[1] Lawrence A. Cremin, "The Revolution in American Secondary Education, 1893–1918," *Teachers College Record*, Vol. LVI (1955), No. 6, p. 303.

[2] For a detailed account of the transformation of secondary education in Muncie, Indiana, during the twenties and early thirties, see Robert S. and Helen Merrell Lynd, *Middletown* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1929), and *Middletown in Transition* (New York, Harcourt Brace and Co., 1937). The Lynds make clear that in the middle twenties the Muncie high school offered a terminal, primarily vocational education, although the formal curriculum was still predominantly composed of the traditional academic courses. As the president of the School Board of Muncie said to them: "For a long time all boys were trained to be President. Then for a while we trained them all to be professional men. Now we are training boys to get jobs." (*Middletown*, p. 194). The hollowness of the traditional course work under those circumstances is reflected in the remark of one high school English teacher: "Thank goodness, we've finished Chaucer's *Prologue*! I am thankful and the children are, too. They think of it almost as if it were in a foreign language, and they *hate* it." (*Ibid.*, p. 193). These sentiments, shared by both teachers and students in Muncie, were reflected in the quality of the academic preparation given those students who did go on to college; as the Lynds report, most of them dropped out or did poorly. (*Ibid.*, p. 195).

By 1930 the new "scientific" educational philosophy had found expression in Muncie in a new curriculum "devoted to the principle that the schools should fit the needs of the individual pupil instead of forcing the child to fit himself to the standard curriculum, as has been the practice in the past." (*Middletown in Transition*, p. 221) "With the high school and even the college no longer serving as a screen sifting out the 'scholars' from the 'non-scholars' even as roughly as they did before the World War, and with secondary education becoming a mass experience, the feeling has grown that education must not only be good but must be good for something – to the individual and to society." (*Ibid.*, p. 222).

The Growth of Mass Higher Education in America

During the decades when the institutions, the curriculum, and the philosophies of mass terminal education were being created, the college population was rising very slowly.[2] As recently as 1940 the total number of students enrolled in college comprised only 15 per cent of the college age group (the 18 to 21 year olds). By 1954, that proportion was up to 30 per cent, and by 1960 it was around 37½ per cent. Over both the longer 20 year period between 1940 and 1960 and the recent six year period, 1954–1960, the rate of increase in college enrollments as a proportion of the college age group has been about 1.3 per cent a year. If that rate of increase is maintained, and that is a conservative forecast, then by 1970 college enrollments will comprise about half of the college age group.[3] The rapid rate of increase since 1940 is in marked contrast with the average rate of increase of only 0.35 per cent per annum between 1920, when college enrollments comprised 8 per cent of the college age group, and 1940, when that figure had risen to 15 per cent.

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[1] *Teachers College Record*, Vol. XIX (1918), No. 4. Kilpatrick describes the "project" as "the hearty purposeful act" wherein the student pursues his own purposes wholeheartedly and with enthusiasm. And as "the purposeful act is ... the typical unit of the worthy life in a democratic society, so also should it be made the typical unit of school procedure." (p. 323) The aim of this education would be "the man who is master of his fate, who with deliberate regard for a total situation forms clear and far-reaching purposes, who plans and executes with nice care the purposes so formed." (*Ibid.*, p. 322) This is, of course, the ideal citizen of liberal democratic theory, a kind of man America had produced in larger numbers during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries than any other society in history, and without benefit of the "project method." It was the decline of this liberal society, under the impact of industrialization and large organization, that led Kilpatrick and others to seek to achieve in and through education what one could no longer assume could be achieved through the economic and political life of the society.

The new philosophy of education was a response not merely to a new kind of student but also to a new kind of society. An emphasis on the new students in the schools led to a new curriculum keyed to their vocational interests; an emphasis on the new society led to calls for the radical reconstruction of society through education. It was the first emphasis that found a response in Muncie and had by far the greater impact on the schools there and elsewhere.

[2] Data on enrollments in both high school and college drawn from *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957; Progress of Public Education in the United States, 1959–60;* Bogue, *op. cit.*; American Council on Education, *Fact Book on Higher Education* (Washington, D.C.: n.d.).

[3] Indeed, projections of the college age population of the United States reported in the *Fact Book* (*op. cit.*) coupled with U.S. Bureau of the Census estimates of college enrollments in 1970 (reported in Bogue, *op. cit.*, Table 26–10, p. 778), give a figure of 55 per cent of the 18–21 age group. And a recent Roper study of parental expectations regarding their children's education suggests that even this figure may be considerably low. (See "Why College Enrollments May Triple by 1970," *College Board Review*, No. 40 (Winter, 1960), pp. 18–19).

FigureI shows the phases in the parallel development of American secondary and higher education graphically. If we take, somewhat arbitrarily, an enrolment of 15 per cent of the age-grade as the beginning of the mass phase of an educational system, then secondary education passed this line around 1910, and higher education in 1940. The period 1870–1980 with which we are dealing falls naturally then into three phases. In Phase I secondary and higher education were by and large offering an academic education to an elite minority. Phase II, between roughly 1910 and 1940, saw the rapid growth of mass terminal education, with higher education still offered to a small but slowly growing minority.[1] Since 1940, or more precisely, since World War II, we are (in Phase III) seeing the rapid growth of mass higher education. With enrollments in higher education continuing to grow, and with secondary school enrollments (as a proportion of the 14–17 year old population) near saturation, the transformation of the terminal secondary system into a mass preparatory system is well under way.

It is interesting to compare rates of increase in college attendance during the first two decades of Phase III with the rate of increase in high school enrollments during the decades 1909–1939 (Phase II), the years of growth of the mass secondary system. In the last twenty years of Phase I, 1889–1909, the high school population (as a proportion of the 14–17 year olds) rose from 6.7 per cent to 15.4 per cent, an annual rate of increase of about 0.44 per cent. Over the next three decades, (Phase II), the rate increased from 15.4 per cent to 73.3 per cent, an annual rate of increase of about 1.9 per cent. While this is somewhat higher than the rate of increase of about 1.3 per cent annually in college attendance (as a proportion of the 18–21 year olds) thus far in Phase III, there is in both cases a marked increase in the rate of growth over the previous period. In the case of both secondary and higher education, the rate of increase has been about four times as great in the period of rapid growth as compared with the immediately preceding periods of slow growth. In both cases we see the rapid transformation of an education for a relatively small elite into a system of mass education. This process is about completed for the secondary education (in 1958 the high school population comprised nearly 90 per cent of the high school age group), while we are in the middle of the expansion of opportunities for higher education. And as with secondary education, there is no reason to believe that the United States will stop short of providing opportunities and facilities for nearly universal experience of some kind in higher education.

The immediate force behind these trends in both secondary and higher education are changes in public sentiment–in people's ideas of what they want and expect for their children in the way of formal education. Where most Americans have come to see a high school education as the ordinary, expected

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[1] But the social composition of this minority was changing during this phase. Already in 1920, when college enrollments comprised only 8 per cent of the 18–21 year old population, some 40 per cent of the college population, by one estimate, came from lower-middle and working class backgrounds. By 1940, at the end of Phase II, 60 per cent of college students came out of those classes. (R. J. Havighurst, *American Higher Education in the 1960s* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1960), Table 7, p. 34).

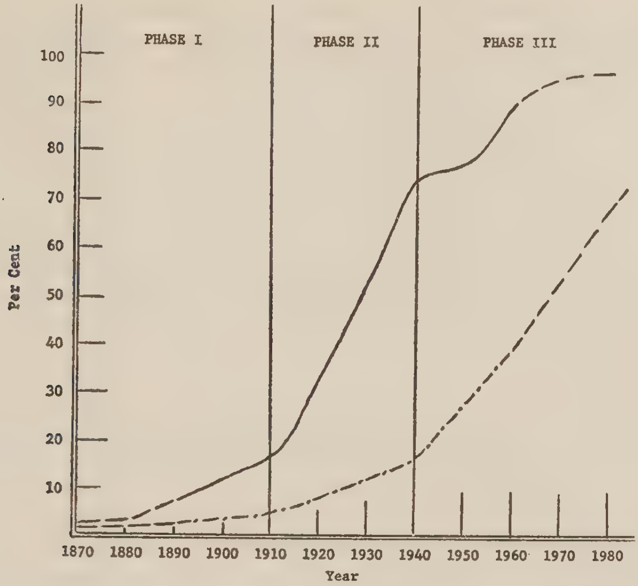

Figure I. Enrollment Rates in Secondary and Higher Education, United States, 1870–1980.

——— High school enrollments as a proportion of population 14–17 years of age.
— . -- College and university enrollments as a proportion of population 18–21 years of age.
— — — Estimated.

Note: These curves are based on the figures at 10 year intervals, and do not show the enrollment rates during World War II and the Korean War.

Sources: *Progress of Public Education in the United States, 1959–1960, op. cit.*
Historical Statistics, op. cit.
Fact Book, op. cit.
Bogue, *The Population of the United States, op. cit.*

thing for their children, they are now coming to think of at least some time in college in the same way.[1] Behind these changes in sentiment are other social forces, not least among which is another change in our occupational structure, parallel to the massive growth in the white collar population which underlay the growth of the public secondary school system. The current change is the immense growth of demand for more highly trained and educated people of all kinds. Between 1940 and 1950, the number of engineers in the country doubled; the number of research workers increased by 50 per cent. Even more striking, between 1950 and 1960 the total labor force increased by only 8 per cent; but the number of professional, technical, and kindred workers grew by 68 per cent[1] – and these, of course, are the occupations that call for at least some part of a college education. Moreover, it is estimated that the period 1957–1970 will see an increase of a further 60 per cent in this category of highly educated workers.[2] Where in the decades 1900–1930, clerical and kindred workers were the fastest growing occupational classification and by far, in the period 1950–1970 it has been and will be the professional and technical occupations.[3]

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[1] Compare the recent Roper study done in 1959 (*Parents' College Plans Study*, The Ford Foundation, New York: mimeographed, n.d.), which shows that nearly 70 per cent of children under 12 are expected by their parents to go to college, with the Roper study of a decade earlier. (*Higher Education*, a supplement to *Fortune*, September, 1949). The hopes of the earlier decade have become the expectations of today, and will probably be the enrollments of tomorrow. Of the latest Roper study, one observer noted that "it demonstrated that a college education has come to be widely regarded as the *sine qua non* of personal success, just as the high school diploma did earlier." (Philip Coombs, *College Board Review*, No. 40 (1960), p. 18).

The Second Tranformation of American Secondary Education

There are two major points to be made in summary here. First, much the same forces which made for the development of the mass secondary system in this country are now at work creating a system of mass higher education. And second, this development is rapidly changing the function of the secondary system. Secondary education in the United States began as an elite preparatory system; during its great years of growth it became a mass terminal system; and it is now having to make a second painful transition on its way to becoming a mass preparatory system. But this transition is a good deal more difficult than the first, because while the first involved the *creation* of the necessary institutions, the second is requiring the *transformation* of a huge existing institutional complex. It is almost always easier to create new institutions to perform a new function than it is to transform existing institutions to meet new functions. And as a further complication, during these long decades of transition, the secondary schools are going to have to continue to perform the old terminal education functions for very large if decreasing proportions of students who are not equipped, motivated, or oriented toward college. In the earlier transition, the old college preparatory schools continued to exist and to perform their preparatory functions, with much the same curriculum and kinds of personnel, thus permitting a rough division of function between the older and the newer schools. And where this was not possible, the number of preparatory students was shortly so small as compared with the terminal students that the schools did not have quite the same sense of equal but conflicting functions that secondary people are now coming to feel.[1]

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[1] *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1960*, p. 216.

[2] Bureau of Labor Statistics estimates, reported in Newell Brown, "The Manpower Outlook for the 1960's: Its Implications for Higher Education," Office of Education, U.S. Department of Education, *Higher Education* (December ,1959), pp. 3–6. It is also estimated that the number of engineers will double during this period.

[3] *Bogue, op. cit.*, Table 17–2, p. 475 and *Fact Book, op. cit.*, p. 146.

By contrast, now and for the foreseeable future, both the preparatory and terminal functions will have to be performed by the same institutions and the same personnel. Of course, that has always been true to some extent – there have always been college-oriented students in our high schools, and provisions have been made for them. But by and large, they have been a minority in an institution created for the great mass of terminal students. The dominant philosophies and structure of the high school could be determined by its central function of providing a terminal secondary education for the mass of American youth. As preparatory students become an increasingly large proportion of all high school youth, and in more and more places a majority, they provide by their existence not just a demand for special provision, but a challenge to the basic structure and philosophy of the school. And this is the challenge that underlies the criticism of secondary education that flows from many sources.

The rough equality of the terminal and preparatory functions today may account for why the critics and the defenders of the schools largely talk past one another. The critics, who are often university professors, say, in effect, "We need not merely better provision for the preparatory student, but rather, a different guiding educational philosophy for a preparatory secondary system."[2] And the defenders, who are often professional educators, since it is they who created the educational system now under attack, reply, "We cannot ignore the needs and requirements of the great numbers of students who are not going on to college."[3] And when the numbers going on and the numbers not going on are approximately equal, as they are now in many places, neither side can point to numbers as simple justification for its argument.

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[1] For example, of those students entering high school in 1928, only 1 in 5 went on to college four years later, and only 2 in 5 of the high school graduates of 1932 went on to college. But in the coming decades the numbers of terminal and preparatory students in the high schools will be nearly equal. A third of the students entering high school in 1954 went on to college, and by 1958 half of the high school graduates in the United States were going on to some kind of higher education. (Computed from data in *Progress of Public Education*, *op. cit.*, Figure 1, p. 13). And in some parts of the country that proportion is very much higher.

These transformations can be shown in another way. In 1880, there were roughly the same number of students in American colleges and universities as in our public high schools. By 1940 there were nearly five times as many students in the public high schools as in institutions of higher education. But by 1960, the ratio of high school to college students had fallen to about three to one. (*Historical Statistics*, *op. cit.*, pp. 207 and 209, and for 1960, *Fact Book*, *op. cit.*, pp. 10 and 237).

[2] See for example the *Report of the San Francisco Curriculum Survey Committee* (April, 1960), prepared for the Board of Education, San Francisco Unified School District, by a committee of faculty members from various academic departments of the University of California, Berkeley, and Stanford University.

[3] See *Judging and Improving the Schools: Current Issues*, California Teachers Association, 1960, prepared in answer to the San Francisco Curriculum Survey Committee Report cited above.

The High School and Its Changing Public

In the coming decades the high schools will be dealing not only with a different kind of student, but also with a different kind of parent. During the formative years of the mass terminal secondary system in the United States, the teachers and educators who were building the system were dealing by and large with parents who themselves had gone no further than grade school. These people, many of them immigrants or of rural origins, whose children were going no further than high school, had neither the competence nor the motivation to be greatly concerned with the high school curriculum. And the debates about secondary education were carried on largely over the heads of these parents, among the professionals themselves, and between the educators and sections of the academic community. But increasingly, secondary school people are dealing with educated parents of preparatory students, who possess both the competence and the direct motivation to be concerned with the character of their children's secondary education. As recently as 1940, three American adults in five had never been to high school, and only one in four had completed high school.[1] By 1960 three in five had been to high school, and over 40 per cent were high school graduates[2]. By 1970 over 50 per cent will be high school graduates, and by 1980 it is estimated that figure will reach 60 per cent.[3] Parents who themselves have been through high school, and many of them through some years of college as well, feel themselves more competent to pass judgment on the secondary education of their children, and are less likely to accept passively and on faith the professional recommendations of school administrators, educators and counsellors. It is this rapidly growing group of educated parents whose children are going on to college which provides both the audience and the support for the "academic" critics of the secondary school and its curriculum. There is every reason to believe that their interest will grow as their numbers increase, and as competition among their children for the better college places becomes sharper.

This development places a strain on the professional autonomy of educators, who paradoxically find that their professional expertise and judgment is increasingly challenged even while their professional standards and organizations are strengthened, and as the body of knowledge and theory on which their professional status rests is steadily enlarged. This paradox inevitably creates bewilderment and resentment among the professional educators. But it may be that as educators recognize that the very success of their efforts to extend educational opportunities through high school and beyond creates a large body of parents who take a detailed and active interest in the education of their children, they may find some solace in what is probably a permanent condition of external scrutiny and criticism. Moreover, wistful and wholly misleading parallels with the enviable autonomy of doctors and lawyers only sharpen their bewilderment and resentment; they will neither reduce the volume of lay criticism nor account for its existence.[1] Professional educators in America will have to resign themselves to the fact that mass public education, especially at the secondary level, involves conflicts of values and interests which are independent of professional skills and knowledge, and which are increasingly less likely to be left solely to professional decision. And foremost among these is the relative weight and importance placed in each school and district on college preparation as over against a terminal "education for life."

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[1] *Bogue*, Table 13–8, p. 343.

[2] Between 1940 and 1959, the average educational level of the whole adult population rose from 8.4 to 11.0 years of schooling completed (U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports*, Series P-20, No. 99 (1959), p. 5). Moreover, recent increases in educational opportunity are closing the historic gap in education between white collar people and manual workers. In 1940, at the end of Phase II, the broad white collar categories had on the average completed high school, while manual workers had on the average no more than an elementary schooling. (*Mayer*, Table 5, p. 76). By 1950, young men between 25 and 29 who were skilled workers and foremen already had an average of nearly 12 years of schooling – less than a year of schooling separated them as a group from young white collar people. Even the semi-skilled and service workers among these young men had completed two or three years of high school on the average. (*Ibid.*). By 1959, semi-skilled and service workers of all ages had completed an average of two years of high school.

[3] *Bogue*, Table 26–11, p. 779.

Teachers for Mass Preparatory Secondary Education

The difficulties of strenthening secondary education for college preparatory students in public high schools are complicated by what is clearly a pattern of negative selection to teaching below the college level. And this pattern is especially marked for the recruitment of men, who comprise about half of all high school teachers.[2] Moreover, a recent nationwide study of beginning teachers conducted by the U.S. Office of Education shows that 70 per cent of the men and over 80 per cent of the women did not expect to continue teaching until retirement.[1] The bulk of the women said, as might be expected, that they hoped to leave teaching for homemaking. More significant for the college preparatory programs in high schools, over half of the men in the sample expected to leave teaching for some other job in education, chiefly administration, while fully 20 per cent were already planning to leave education entirely. And the evidence suggests that the men who remain in the classroom are by and large less able than those who move on to administration or out of education altogether.[2]

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[1] The relation of professional educators to their public resembles that of the organized medical profession, whose position on medical insurance is under widespread public criticism, more than it does that of the individual physician or hospital staff.

[2] The extensive studies done with national samples by the Educational Testing Service and others show that students who major in Education score lowest, on comprehensive tests of verbal and mathematical competence, as compared with majors in almost every other field. (Henry Chauncey, "The Use of the Selective Service College Qualification Test of the Deferment of College Students," *Science*, Vol. 116, No. 3301 (July 4, 1952), p. 75). See also Dael Wolfle and Toby Oxtoby, "Distribution of Ability of Students Specializing in Different Fields," *Science* (September 26, 1952), pp. 311–14), and Dael Wolfle, Director, *America's Resources of Specialized Talent*, The Report of the Commission on Human Resources and Advanced Training (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1934), pp. 189–208. This finding is supported by a recent study on the campus of the University of California at Berkeley, which shows that the men who took the education courses had, on the average, poorer grades and less knowledge about public affairs than did men in other majors. They were also, as a group, both less informed and more illiberal on matters of political tolerance and academic freedom than men on the same campus in others areas of specialization. (H. C. Selvin and Warren O. Hagstrom, "Determinants of Support for Civil Liberties," *The British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XI (March, 1960, pp. 51–73).

The much lower incomes of teachers, as compared with school administrators, with men who leave education, and with most other occupations requiring a comparable amount of education, account for much of this unfortunate pattern of recruitment and retention of male teachers.[3] Moreover, the relatively low status of teaching below the college level, which is both a cause and a consequence of the low salaries, also helps to explain why teaching attracts and holds too few of the most able men.[4] And while teachers' salaries are rising, it is unlikely that the gross differentials in pay and prestige between high school teaching and other occupations requiring a college education are likely to be significantly narrowed in the near future. On the contrary, there is reason to fear they may be widened. The continued extension of opportunities for higher education to able students – through public and private scholarships, the expansion of public higher education, and the like – is offering to able young college men a wider range of occupational alternatives, many of which carry greater prestige and higher incomes than does secondary teaching. In the past a career in teaching was often the only intellectual occupation (aside from the ministry) open to serious young boys from farms and small towns; and the local normal schools or state teachers college were often the only educational avenues of mobility open to such boys. There are proportionately fewer boys from farms and small towns today, and wider opportunities for them, as for the great mass of urban youth, in higher education. This, together with the continued growth of the "intellectual occupations" is almost certain to make the competition for able men sharper in the years to come. Our society's demands for scientists, engineers, technically trained people of all kinds appears insatiable, and the rewards for work in these fields are usually considerably more generous than for high school teaching. Of even greater importance, the very rapid expansion of higher education currently under way in this country, and the enormous demands for college teachers that it creates, constitutes perhaps the strongest set of competitive opportunities open to young men who want to teach.[1]

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[1] W. S. Mason, R. J. Dressel, and R. K. Bain, "Sex Role and Career Orientations of Beginning Teachers," *Harvard Educational Review*, Vol. 29, No. 4 (Fall, 1959), pp. 370–384. A study done of men who entered education below the college level after W. W. II showed that by 1955 fewer than half of them (48 per cent) were still in the classroom, 23 per cent had become educational administrators, and 29 per cent had left education entirely. R. L. Thorndike and Elizabeth Hagen, *Characteristics of Men Who Remained in and Left Teaching* (Teachers College, Columbia University, n. d.), Table 3, p. 19.

[2] The study by Thorndike and Hagen (*op. cit.*) of a group of men who were aviation cadet candidates in World War II shows that of all those who went into public school teaching after the War, "those who were academically more capable and talented tended to drop out of teaching and that those who remained as classroom teachers in the elementary and secondary schools were the less intellectually able members of the original group." (p. 10) Both the men who remained in education as administrators, and those who had left education completely, showed more academic ability on the Air Force tests than did those who stayed in the classrooms.

[3] In the study by Thorndike and Hagen (*op. cit.*), fewer than one in ten of the men still in classroom teaching were earning more than $ 600 a month, while over half of both the school administrators and the men who had left education were earning more than that. The median earnings of the administrators and the ex-teachers exceeded that of the teachers by over 25 per cent. Two-thirds of the ex-teachers in this study mentioned "low pay" as one of the major reasons for their having left teaching.

[4] In addition, teaching in primary and secondary schools, by contrast both with school administration and with college teaching, is widely perceived as a woman's occupation. And "female occupations" are generally less well paid and give less status to the men in them than do comparable "male occupations."

Substantial increases in pay for public school teachers may ameliorate, but are not likely to reverse, the pattern of recruitment of academically less able men to high school teaching.[2] And men comprise roughly half the population of American high school teachers.[3] Thus, no matter how teacher education, secondary school curricula, and school organization are reformed to strengthen the college preparatory function of high schools, a substantial part of the actual teaching itself will be carried on by relatively poorly paid, low status, and often academically less able people. These things may not have mattered so much when secondary education was largely terminal; at least it can be argued that qualities other than academic ability – for example, a deep interest in young people and skills in working with them – are more important for teachers of students whose interests are not academic or intellectual. But that can hardly be claimed for teachers of college-bound youngsters, whose success in college will rest very heavily on the knowledge and intellectual habits they acquire in secondary school.

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[1] See M. A. Trow, "Reflections on Recruitment to College Teaching," in Halsey, Floud and Anderson, eds., *Education, Economy and Society* (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1961). Junior colleges, in particular, draw a substantial proportion of their faculties directly from the high schools, and in all likelihood the more academically oriented teachers at that. The continued expansion of the junior colleges cannot help but impoverish the teaching staffs of the high schools.

[2] Over the four years between 1955–56 and 1959–60, the average salaries of all public school teachers, principals, and supervisors, rose by nearly a quarter . But during the same period, the salaries of college teachers in all ranks rose by about as much, and in most categories of institutions, by more. From data in *Fact Book*, pp. 105, 106, 239.

[3] Women who enter high school teaching probably compare more favourably with women in other occupations requiring equivalent amounts of education; among other things, the alternative opportunities are not as broad or attractive for them as for the men. But women are almost as eager to leave the classroom as are men, though for different reasons. Nor, in light of their interests and preparation, can we count on women to carry the burden of teaching the advanced courses in the college preparatory subjects.

Pressures for Reform of the Curriculum

The character and quality of high school teachers are especially important in view of the recent efforts to strengthen the preparatory aspects of the high school curriculum which are predicated on the existence of large numbers of teachers in the schools able to put the new curriculum into effect. The pressures for reform of the curriculum have been strongest in the areas of science and mathematics. The enormous expansion during and since World War II of scientific research and development, both in government and industry, has created a continuing demand for large numbers of highly trained technicians, and at the same time has generated very strong pressures for the reform of what was a manifestly inadequate curriculum in high school science and mathematics. And this in turn has involved many more academic scientists in efforts to reform the secondary school curriculum.[1] Largely on the initiative of the university scientists, a number of studies and programs have been initiated expressly to develop new secondary school courses in the sciences and mathematics, and to prepare textbooks and other materials for use in them. The first of these was the Physical Science Study Committee, begun at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1956, followed closely by the School Mathematics Study Group (1958), the Biological Sciences Curriculum Study (1958), the Chemical Education Material Study (1959), and many others. There are movements afoot to extend these programs and studies aiming at the reform of the secondary school curriculum to the social studies and the humanities. Moreover, the Advanced Placement Program has introduced college level work directly into the high school by allowing students who have taken college level work in high school and who pass standard achievement tests in those fields to be admitted to a large number of colleges with advanced standing. This program is growing rapidly, as more and more able students, most with graduate and professional schools in mind, try for advanced placement both to improve their chances for admission to the better colleges and also as a way of saving time in the early stages of a lengthy higher education.[2]

All of these efforts to reform and strengthen the preparatory work offered by the high schools require teachers with both academic ability and training. The lack of preparation of many teachers in academic fields is real though reparable.[3] Extensive programs of summer training sessions and workshops, supported in large part by Federal funds, are now organized on a continuing basis to strengthen the high school teachers' own skills in the subjects they teach and to introduce them to more recent developments in their subjects.[1] A more serious question raised by the evidence cited earlier is that of the academic aptitudes and abilities of high school teachers; this question conditions every proposal for the reform of the curriculum. Of course, efforts can and should be made to recruit and retain highly competent teachers. Meanwhile, the reform of the curriculum calls for new ways to make the best use of the most able teachers already in the schools.

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[1] See Bentley Glass, "The Academic Scientist, 1940–1960," *AAUP Bulletin*, June, 1960, p. 153.

[2] See Richard Pearson, "Advanced Placement Programs: Opportunities Ahead," *College Board Review*, No. 39, Fall, 1959, pp. 24–27.

[3] For example, a recent study by the U.S. Office of Education shows that 39 per cent of the teachers in the study who were teaching one or more courses in high school mathematics had not had the calculus or a more advanced course in mathematics, while 7 per cent had had no college mathematics at all. (K. E. Brown and E. S. Obourn, *Qualifications and Teaching Loads of Mathematics and Science Teachers in Maryland, New Jersey, and Virginia*, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, Circular 575 (1959), Tables 20 and 22, p. 46) Similarly, a recent report of the National Council of

It may be that the matching of academically oriented and able teachers and students which already takes place informally will be encouraged and even formalized. But it is precisely such invidious distinctions that American public schools try hard to avoid. It is in the schools that the American value of equality is most deeply rooted, and it is in the doctrines of democratic education that we find the most determined equation and encouragement of all kinds of talents and abilities, with academic abilities only one kind among many. When college preparatory students were only a small minority of all students in high schools, they could be dealt with as "exceptions" without challenging the basic equalitarian ethos of the school which equated all students and all activities and interests.[2] But the transformation of the secondary schools into predominantly preparatory institutions profoundly challenges this ethos; the criteria of academic ability and achievement which are so much more important in higher education are increasingly relevant to and applied within the walls of the high school.[3]

Under pressures such as these, it is likely that both the philosophy and organization of American secondary education will change in the decades ahead. And the nature of these changes will in turn affect the kinds of people drawn to high school teaching, how they are trained,[4] and how they are used in the schools.

Teachers of English observes that half of the nation's high school English teachers do not have a college major in English, and that because of deficiencies in preparation, 70 per cent of American colleges and universities must offer remedial work in English. (Reported in *Phi Delta Kappan,* XLII, 6 (March, 1961), p. 271.)

[1] For example, the National Science Foundation through its Summer Institute Program during 1961 supported the attendance of about 20,000 high school and college teachers of science, mathematics, and engineering at some 400 Institutes around the country.

[2] See I. L. Kandel, *The Dilemma of Democracy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1934).

[3] But this will almost certainly continue to be the comprehensive high school. The resistance of most American educators to selective schools which "segregate" students of academic ability and interests is very great, despite the reputation and accomplishments of such academically "segregaged" high schools as New York's High School of Music and Art, the Bronx High School of Science, and the late Townsend Harris High School. See I. L. Kandel, "Current Issues in Expanding Secondary Education," *International Review of Education,* Vol. 2 (1959), pp. 155–65.

[4] We cannot here discuss the controversies over teacher training, certification, and the like except to suggest that they also reflect the deep cleavage between the terminal and preparatory functions of secondary education. In most other advanced countries, which have rather distinct terminal and preparatory school systems, the patterns of social recruitment and training of teachers for these systems also differ: Teachers in the terminal systems usually get their training in teacher training institutes, while teachers in the preparatory

The more emphasis placed on academic subject matter in the high school curriculum, and in the training and employment of teachers, the more likely people with academic interests will be attracted to teaching. This is certainly the direction of change in public secondary education's Phase III. But where does this leave the high school's remaining responsibility for terminal education?

The Impact of the Transformation on Terminal Education

The expansion of the college-going population fills the high schools with college preparatory students, and generates the pressures for a strengthening of the preparatory function that we have spoken of. But this development also affects the character of the terminal students, and of terminal education in high school, as well. When few students went on to college, there was no disgrace in not doing so; moreover, except for the professions, it was not so clear that occupational success was closely linked to academic achievement. The Horatio Alger myth, and the American folklore celebrating the successes of the self-made (and self-educated) man, served to define school achievement as only one among several legitimate avenues to success. But the rationalization of industry, and the increased importance of higher education for advancement beyond the lowest levels of the occupational structure, make educational achievement objectively more important for later success; the increased numbers of college-going students make this importance visible to high school students. The consequence of all this is to change the character of the students who do not go on to college when increasing majorities of students do so. Already in some localities, and increasingly in coming decades, the students not going on to college are being reduced to a hard core composed of two groups: children from ethnic and racial groups which do not place strong emphasis on high educational and occupational aspirations – for example, Negroes and Mexicans; and children of low intelligence who simply cannot handle college preparatory work.

The transformation of "not going to college" into "failure" has both social and psychological consequences. Among those who want to succeed in school but cannot, the effects of failure may be a loss of self-respect, with widespread if not highly visible and dramatic consequences for the social behaviors of those so affected. One English observer suggests that:

> As a result of the close relationship between education and occupation a situation may soon be reached when the educational institutions legitimize social inequality by individualizing failure. Democratization of the means of education together with the

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systems are educated in the universities for which they are preparing the best of their students. It is probably neither possible nor desirable to reintroduce this pattern into American education. Yet pressures for a reform in teacher education rise, in response to the changing function of the schools. For example, a bill introduced in the California legislature in 1961 would eliminate the "education major" in college by requiring all teachers to have a degree in some academic discipline.

> internalizing of the achievement ethic by members of the working-class strata may lead to an individualizing of their failure, to a loss of self-respect which in turn modifies an individual's attitude both to his group and to the demands made upon him by his society.[1]

This problem of the motivated student of low ability may be more severe in England, and in other Western countries in the earlier stages of the democratization of education, than in the United States, where among our nearly 2,000 institutions of higher education there is a college somewhere for everybody.[2] Moreover, the elaborate student counselling programs in our mass public institutions are designed explicitly to help students of low academic ability accept their limitations, and direct their energies toward attainable educational and occupational goals without a sense of personal failure and resentment toward society.[3]

But while the emerging American educational system promises to make some provision for all those who accept its values, regardless of their academic ability, it is not so clear what it can do for those who deeply reject its values and purposes, along with many of the values and purposes of the larger society. The increasing extent and violence of juvenile delinquency in the United States may be closely linked to the extension of educational opportunities to the conforming majority. Where educational achievement (in terms at least of years completed) becomes more widespread and thus more visible, and more important to even modest success in the occupational world, then educational failure *pari passu* becomes more devastating to one's hopes of achieving the advertised "good life" through legitimate channels. Failure in school for many is part of a familiar vicious cycle. Absence of encouragement or concern with school performance in the home (especially marked in certain ethnic and racial groups) leads to failure to acquire basic skills, such as reading, in the early grades, which ensures academic failure in higher grades. These repeated failures make school seem a punishing prison, from which the boy escapes as early as the law allows. But lacking education or training, it is unlikely that he can get any but the poorest jobs. And the habits and resentments generated at home, on the street, and in school make it unlikely that such a boy can move into better jobs. After repeated failures in school and a succession of poorly paid odd jobs, the rewards of membership in a gang, and of participation in its delinquent subculture are considerable. And the more the high school is organized around the college preparatory programs, the more it stresses academic achievement, the more punishing it will be for the non-achievers.[4] The delinquent subculture is a way of dealing with deprivations of status, very largely experienced in the schools, and as a response to these deprivations, "the gang offers an heroic rather than an economic [or intellectual] basis of self-respect."[1]

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[1] Basil Bernstein, "Some Sociological Determinants of Perception: An Enquiry Into Subcultural Differences," *The British Journal of Sociology*, I, 2 (June, 1958), p. 173.

[2] See T. R. McConnell and Paul Heist, "The Diverse College Student Population," in N. Sanford, ed., *The American College* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1962).

[3] See Burton R. Clark, "The Cooling-Out Function in Higher Education," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXV, 6 (May, 1960).

[4] Speaking of this group "for whom adaptation to educational expectations at *any* level is difficult," Parsons notes: "As the acceptable minimum of educational qualifications rises, persons near and below the margin will tend to be pushed into an attitude of repudiation

Special school programs may help meet the complex problems of low aspirations and juvenile delinquency, though children growing up in disorganized families, or in cultures cut off from the dominant American value systems, or exposed to the corrosive effects of racial prejudice, present problems that cannot be wholly dealt with in and by the schools. The point here is that the growth of educational opportunity threatens to make the greater part of terminal education in high schools coincidental with the social problems of juvenile delinquency. This is not to say that every classroom full of non-college going students is or will be a "blackboard jungle." It does mean that the hostility toward the school characteristic of the juvenile gangs, but much more widespread than their membership, will be an increasing part of the educational problem faced by schools and teachers dealing with terminal students. The cluster of values which characterize juvenile delinquency – "the search for kicks, the disdain of work... and the acceptance of aggressive toughness as proof of masculinity"[2] – is incompatible with disciplined school work, either academic *or* vocational. Moreover, much of the serious vocational training the high schools have offered in the past is being increasingly shifted to higher education, especially to the junior colleges.[3]

The terminal education of the future will not simply be the terminal education of the past offered to a decreasing proportion of students. The growth of the college-going population changes the character of the remaining terminal students, it changes the meaning of their terminal work, and it will force changes in the organization and curriculum of terminal secondary education. It may also call for teachers with special skills and training in dealing with the problems of the minority or "hard-core" of terminal students. But if the increasingly important preparatory programs claim the best resources of secondary education and command the most able teachers, then terminal education will indeed be a second-class program for second-class students. And they will know it, and

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of these expectations. Truancy and delinquency are ways of expressing this repudiation. Thus the very *improvement* of educational standards in the society at large may well be a major factor in the failure of the educational process for a growing number at the lower end of the status and ability distribution." (Talcott Parsons, "The Social Class as a Social System: Some of its Functions in American Society," *Harvard Educational Review*, IV, 4 (Fall, 1959), p. 313.

[1] Jackson Toby, "Hoodlum or Business Man: An American Dilemma," in Marshall Sklare, *The Jews* (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1958), p. 546. See also, R. K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (revised ed.; Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1957), Chapter iv, "Social Structure and Anomie"; and Albert K. Cohen, *Delinquent Boys: The Culture of the Gang* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1955), especially Chapter v, "A Delinquent Solution."

[2] David Matza and Gresham Sykes, "Juvenile Delinquency and Subterranean Values," *American Sociological Review* (forthcoming).

[3] See Burton R. Clark, *The Open Door College* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1960).

that knowledge will feed their bitterness and resentment. Neither the old terminal education for life, nor the strengthened academic programs will meet their needs. If the terminal education of the future is not to be an educational slum, it will demand large resources and much intelligence. But these are always in short supply, and terminal education will be competing for both with the more attractive programs of preparatory education.

Conclusion

Universal secondary education in the United States was achieved through a system of comprehensive high schools, devoted primarily to the education of the great mass of its students for work and life, and secondarily to the preparation of a small minority for higher education. The present concern with the reform of the high school curriculum and teacher training reflects the rapid growth of the college-going population, and the increased importance of the preparatory function.

Nevertheless, it may have been possible to combine terminal education for a majority and preparatory education for a minority more successfully than it will be to combine preparatory education for a majority and terminal education for a minority under one roof. Moreover, the shortage of highly qualified and motivated teachers of academic subjects may require that they be used where their talents and interests are most productive – that is, in teaching the academically most talented fraction of the student body. Secondary education in America may have to accept a higher measure of division of labor and differentiation of function than it has in the past. As a terminal system, it could in its comprehensiveness and emphasis on "education for life" simply carry further the basic education of the elementary school of which it was an outgrowth. As it becomes increasingly a preparatory system, it may be forced to take on some of the characteristics of higher education for which it is preparing, and place greater emphasis on differences among both teachers and students in academic ability and intellectual and occupational interests.

American higher education deals with the diversity of student abilities and talents largely through the great diversity of institutions which compose it, institutions which vary greatly in their selectivity, and in the academic abilities of their students.[1] American comprehensive high schools contain all this diversity within themselves, providing different streams or tracks for students with different educational or vocational intentions, or, as Conant has urged, grouping by ability, subject by subject.[2] But these arrangements ignore the effects of the students on one another, and of the student "mix" on the intellectual climate of the school. In a school where the academically motivated students are in a minority, they cannot help but be affected by the predominantly anti-intellectual values (and behaviors) of the majority[1]; similarly, where the low-achieving terminal students are in the minority, it is hard for them not to be defined as second-class students by other students and teachers, with the effects on them discussed earlier. It may be that the period we are entering will call for a critical evaluation of the comprehensive high school, the institution created by and for mass terminal secondary education.[2]

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[1] McConnell and Heist, *op. cit.*

[2] See his remarks on "ability grouping" in *The American High School Today* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1959), pp. 49–50.

The current controversies in and about secondary education in America are a natural and healthy response to the transformation of the secondary education in this country. It can be expected that the discussion will grow in volume and scope as this transformation proceeds in the decades ahead. It can also be expected that the discussion ahead will be carried on largely between critics located outside the schools, and professional educators inside them. On one side there is a detached perspective but without first-hand knowledge of the schools; on the other, defensiveness, but also intimate experience with the problems under discussion. If the critics and the professional educators can sharpen and clarify the issues in the course of their discussion, and go on to learn from one another about the inconvenient facts that their respective positions do not adequately take into account, then the controversy may become a dialogue, and perhaps a fruitful one for American secondary education.

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[1] See James S. Coleman, "Academic Achievement and the Structure of Competition," *Harvard Educational Review*, XXIX, 4 (Fall, 1959), pp. 330–352. See also Alan B. Wilson, "Residential Segregation of Social Classes and Aspirations of High School Boys," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. XXIV, No. 6 (December 1959), pp. 836–45.

[2] One possibility, in the best experimental tradition of American education, would be to organize one or two academically selective high schools in each major city, where some of the gains and losses of institutional differentiation can be observed, and where experimental programs can be developed for later application in the comprehensive schools. The "hard-core" terminal students present a more difficult problem.

Regional Variations in Educational Opportunity in France

by

CHRISTIANE PEYRE

THERE are marked local variations in the proportions of working-class children in French secondary schools. Figures for the various "départements" show that although most of these with the highest percentage of working-class children in secondary schools are situated in the north, north-east and south-east of France – that is to say, as might be expected, in the most heavily industrialised districts – there are some industrialised districts, as for instance that around Paris, which nevertheless have a relatively low percentage of working-class pupils in the secondary schools, and some others much less industrialised, such as Finistère, with a relatively high one.

Thus, differences in the social composition of schools do not merely reflect differences in the geographical distribution of working-class families. An index is needed which would relate the numbers of working-class pupils in the secondary schools to the numbers in the relevant age-groups in the population at large; but a calculation of this kind is impossible in the absence of information concerning the social origins of the French population by age-groups.

We have therefore had to make do with the figures showing the total numbers of children under 16 at the time of the 1954 census, that is to say, children aged from 3 to 18 during the school year 1956–57. These are the only available figures broken down both by 'département' and social category.

It is obvious, however, that the total complement of secondary pupils constitutes only a very small fraction of the total numbers of children aged 3–19 years. (For the whole of France, there were in 1956–57 478, 671secondary pupils out of about 11,000,000 young persons aged 3–18, i.e. 4%).[1] We cannot be satisfied with calculating this simple proportion; so we have calculated for each 'département' the relation between the percentage of working-class children in secondary schools, and the percentage of working-class children between 3 and 18 years of age in the overall numbers of young people at that age. This provides a fairly accurate index of working-class participation in secondary schools, eliminating the influence both of the geographical distribution of manual workers and of the size of their families.

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[1] This essay was first published in *Ecole et Société* edited by Pierre Naville: Paris, Lib. Marcel Rivière, 1959, pp. 6–34. It appears here (abridged and translated) by permission of the editor.

Of course, the index may be calculated for all occupational groups and we may illustrate its value by pointing out that, for Paris, it works out at 10.3/38.3 = 0.26 for working-class children, and 0.31 for farmers' children, but rises to 1.8 for the sons and daughters of clerks, etc., and to 2 for those of professional people, business owners and managers.

The departmental values of the index for working-class children show that these children have a somewhat better chance of getting into secondary schools in some localities than in others. Thus those in the neighbourhood of Paris, for example, have much less chance of taking their 'baccalauréat' than those in the 'départements' of the Loire or the Gers.

We will examine in turn a number of factors which may yield an explanation of those differences of educational opportunity for working-class children. It is well to remember, however, that this is only a crude analysis. We shall be comparing more or less widespread phenomena with others which affect very small numbers; therefore we must not expect to find obvious connections between them, nor to reach definitive explanations. We shall frequently have to be satisfied with comparing the extremes of difference, which will give the least risk of error.

1. School Provision

The highest indices may be explained by a heavier density of private secondary schools, in which a large number of children of middle-class origin are taught,[1] thus leaving an artificially high percentage of places in the State schools to working-class children.

The lowest indices, on the other hand, may be due to a greater abundance of senior elementary and apprenticeship courses ('Cours Complémentaires' and 'Centres d'Apprentissage'), which tend to attract working-class children wishing to pursue their studies beyond the age of 14.

We have at our disposal only the numbers of each type of school, and not of the children attending them, still less of their social origins. These are poor data, and lend themselves only to a comparison of the number of alternative secondary courses and of private secondary schools in relation to the total number of state secondary schools.

There are in all 'départements' a number of State secondary schools which are frankly inferior to the senior elementary and apprenticeship courses, and often to the private secondary schools as well. In order to err in the right direction, therefore, we shall only take into consideration those cases in which there are at least 30 senior elementary and apprenticeship courses, or 20 private secondary schools above and beyond the number of State secondary schools.

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[1] It would be interesting to know the social composition of the private secondary schools. Research into this problem will be undertaken. It is possible that the proportion of working-class and farm-labourers' children in them is not so small, at least in some districts, as is generally supposed.

The 'départements' which head the list, having apparently the best secondary provision are: –

	Collèges (modern)	*Lycées (grammar)*	*All State & Secondary Schools*
Seine	15	42	57
Nord	25	14	39
Seine-et-Oise	8	12	20
Bouches-du-Rhone	10	9	19

But when the alternative secondary courses and private schools are taken into account the picture appears less favourable in these areas.

	Senior Elementary	*Apprenticeship*	*Private Secondary Schools*
* Seine	306	106	81
Nord	81	37	59
* Seine-et-Oise	122	32	48
* Bouches-du-Rhone	55	32	30

In the three asterisked 'départements' in which the index is particularly weak the cause may be sought in the abundance of private schools and senior elementary-apprenticeship courses. In general, the larger the provision of these alternative secondary courses, the lower the index of working-class participation in the secondary schools, although there are exceptions, e.g. Pas-de-Calais, Finistère, Puy-de-Dôme, and Doubs.

2. Rate of attendence at secondary schools

We may now relate the index of working-class participation to the local rate of attendance at secondary schools which must reflect both the school provision and the strength of the demand for secondary education.

Apart from the fact that the actual distribution of the secondary school attendance rates is rather unexpected (why should Corsica and the Mediterranean coast have the highest rates?), we may note that the rate for working-class children is the inverse of that for children in general. For example, high-index areas such as Pas-de-Calais, Loire, and Aveyron have a relatively low attendance rate, while low-index areas such as the Seine, the Alpes Maritimes, and l'Hérault have a high one.

3. Scholarships

Since financial difficulties generally appear to be one of the chief obstacles to the secondary education of working-class children, it may be illuminating to relate our index to the proportion of free-place holders in the secondary schools.

The percentage of free-place holders varies from one 'département' to another, from less than 10% to nearly 50%. Heading the list (which is in decreasing order) are about a dozen 'départements' situated mostly either in Brittany or in the heart of France: –

Proportion of Scholarship holders in the secondary schools		*Index of workingclass participation in secondary schools*
47%	Cotes-du-Nord	.19
46%	Lozère	.19
44%	Finistère	.40
41%	Haute-Loire	.45
40%	Morbihan	.40
38%	Aveyron	.64
38%	Aude	.35
37%	Lot	.38
36%	Vendee	.25
35%	Ardèche	.51
35%	Creuse	.43

The index for most of these 'départements' is fairly high, and this similarity between the proportion of free-place holders and our index holds also for areas at the bottom of the list: – those 'départements' which have less than 20% of scholarship holders tend also to have a low index, especially the two last, Seine and Seine-et-Oise, which have less than 10% of scholarship holders and an index of .18 and .15.

Proportion of Scholarship holders in the secondary schools		*Index of workingclass participation in secondary schools*
19%	Var	.34
19%	Doubs	.34
19%	Eure	.29
19%	Nièvre	.20
19%	Meurthe-et-Moselle	.25
17%	Alpes Maritimes	.15
17%	Moselle	.40
16%	Bas-Rhin	.17
16%	Oise	.11

Proportion of Scholarship holders in the secondary schools		*Index of workingclass participation in secondary schools*
16%	Seine-et-Marne	.18
15%	Bouches-du-Rhone	.23
15%	Gironde	.16
15%	Haut-Rhin	.24
15%	Rhone	.23
13%	Côte-d'Or	.17
9%	Seine	.18
9%	Seine-et-Oise	.15

It is noteworthy that the 'départements' having the highest proportion of scholarship holders are those in which there is very little urban development, whereas the most densely urbanised 'départements' have a low proportion, Seine and Seine-et-Oise having fewest. It is possible that these figures reflect the fact that a boarding-school grant is more easily obtained than an ordinary maintenance grant, and that this is one of the reasons which gives working-class children in less urbanised districts a better chance of continuing their studies into the secondary stage.[1]

Thus ,with few exceptions (Côtes-du-Nord, Lozère, Aude, Vendée, Moselle), it does seem as if there is a higher proportion of working-class children in the districts where it is easier to obtain grants. It is, however, not very likely that the proportion of working-class children explains the proportion of scholarship holders, for the latter is always distinctly higher.

4. As to **other aspects of working-class life,** a study of them does not help us much. The fact is that the relevant figures, even when divided into 'départements', refer to incomparably larger numbers than the few hundred working-class pupils in the grammar and other secondary schools of each 'département'. Moreover, they are much less accurate than the figures for schools.

Thus, we find that there is hardly any relation between the index and the *average wage*. The highest wages are often concentrated in the districts where the index is low, as in the neighbourhood of Paris, whilst the rather low wages of Brittany do not prevent the index from being high, as in Finistère and Ille-et-Vilaine.

As to *size of family*, we have no other figures than those for the average number of children below 16 per house-hold – unmarried persons being counted as so many households. This gives a very low average, varying little above and below one. The districts showing the biggest differences for working-class families are as follows: –

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[1] The more so since a boarding-school scholarship helps a family more than a maintenance grant of 20,000 francs a year. However, since October 1958 the system of grants has been modified so that the amount of the grant is assessed rather on the family's standard of living than on the type of school chosen. We shall have to wait a few years before the effect of this is reflected in the geographical distribution of scholarship holders.

Manche	1.7	Seine	0.7
Vendée	1.6	Alpes-Maritimes	0.9
Calvados	1.6	Basses-Alpes	0.9
Sarthe	1.6	Haute-Vienne	0.9
		Rhône	0.9

This is far too slight a ground for suggesting that the mingled working-class and peasant families of Normandy have bigger families than other Frenchmen, and that they thus reduce their children's chances of having a secondary education. And what can one say about the average in the 'département' of the Seine – though doubtless this is lowered by a large proportion of unmarried workers – and of the four other 'départements' where working-class families appear to be the least prolific, but where the index is not correspondingly higher?

From all this we can draw the obvious conclusion that there is no simple, general and easily recognisable factor, either of an economic or institutional kind, which might explain why working-class children have a little more or a little less chance of going to a secondary school according to whether they were born in one or the other part of France. It does, however, seem clear that the existence of a large number of senior elementary and apprenticeship courses may help to reduce their chances, while the greater likelihood of obtaining a scholarship may increase them.

There are without doubt, however, social-psychological reasons which are not revealed by the statistics at our disposal, and which will have to be discovered by means of intensive research; meantime our enquiry enables us to make the two suggestions discussed below.

The great urban areas

It is remarkable that the index should be particularly weak in the four most densely urban districts in France, namely Paris, Lyons, Marseilles and Bordeaux. Could this be because in these densely urban districts the working-class population is more cut off from city life than it would be in towns of less vast size? And is this perhaps due to the simple fact that it is relegated to the suburbs, far (both actually and spiritually) from the centre, where the schools are clustered? Indeed, from sample tests of an unsystematic nature – useless as proof, but lending some slight support to this theory – we learn that families in the suburbs of Paris are particularly badly informed on the educational opportunities open to their children – much worse than families living in small and apparently backward towns, deviod of intellectual life. Parisian working-class families speak of the grammar or secondary modern school as if these were abstractions occurring quite outside their world, and in any case absolutely beyond their reach; whereas provincials are familiar with the actual building of the only school in the neighbouring town, and know pretty well how and why children go there.

The following table shows how the proportion of working-class children in the secondary schools varies in relation to the size of towns, and lends support to this theory. (It is not conclusive, however, since no data concerning the social composition of these populations by age-groups are available and an index of working-class participation could not, therefore, be calculated for towns of varying size.)

Up to 3,000	inhabitants	10.1 %
3,000 to 5,000	,,	11.1 %
5,000 to 10,000	,,	11.2 %
10,000 to 20,000	,,	11.5 %
20,000 to 50,000	,,	12.6 %
50,000 to 100,000	,,	8.2 %
Over 100,000	,,	9.9 %
Paris and its suburbs		7.2 %

It appears that the "best" size of town may be one of 20,000 to 50,000 inhabitants; but a few special cases show that conditions can also be favourable in towns of 100,000 to 200,000. This is true of Lille (16%), Saint-Etienne (26%), and Le Havre (17%).

The Mining Areas

Another significant connection seemed to be worth closer scrutiny: – wherever there are coal-mines, the proportion of working-class children in the secondary schools rises sharply, as can be seen from the following partial figures, which relate to "modern" secondary schools (i.e. to *Collèges* as distinct from *Lycées*)

Proportion of working-class children in "Modern" Secondary Schools (Collèges)

Mining Area	%
Denain	45
Douai	47
Valenciennes	36
Bruay	50
Hénin-Liétard	52
Lens	30
Longwy	39
Firminy	55
Saint-Chamond	54
Saint-Etienne	45
Ales	20
Decazeville	54

Now since 1946 the French coal-mining industry has operated a scheme of scholarships which appears to be rather well-run: in particular it has booklets distributed to the miners informing them of the opportunities that exist. The management, as part of its regular services, undertakes to enter children for examinations qualifying them for these scholarships when they are old enough to start their first year of secondary education. This material aid, which is relatively easy to obtain and comes from an administration familiar to the worker helps, together with greater stability of employment and higher wages, to give miners' children a relatively better chance of continuing their school careers than other workers' children.

It can be assumed, moreover, that as the information is well set out, and is distributed to all families without distinction, it creates a psychological climate in which the quest for a more thorough schooling for the children flourishes.

A sample of working-class children in secondary schools

Before concluding this survey we may offer some tentative conclusions drawn from particulars of the social origins and school careers of a sample of 293 working-class children who are pupils in secondary schools.

1. The diversity of working-class occupations and degrees of skill represented in the sample seem to go against the theory that only skilled workers are to be found among the parents of secondary school children. The fact that the wage-level and the Index studied above do not tally would appear to support this view.

2. On the other hand, if these purely occupational factors have little influence on the future of a working-class child, perhaps family traditions may have all the more; and in particular, we may consider the cases of the substantial minority (one-fifth) of the children in our sample whose mothers either work on their own account or go out to work; and of the small fraction (8%) from immigrant families or with parents of foreign extraction. Possibly the working women come from a social group of a higher level than their husbands; or possibly their own characters drive them to make sacrifices more readily than the men for the sake of their children's careers. And we may postulate a greater driving force amongst immigrant than amongst other working-class families which would be reflected in a rapid rise in social status.

Finally, this sample illustrates the tendences for the senior elementary courses (Cours Complémentaires) to send pupils into the fifth year of the schools (Collèges); and the small proportion of working-class children in secondary schools who are scholarship holders. The two main obstacles to the higher education of working-class children are probably, therefore, the difficulty of finding the right course of studies to follow, and inadequate financial help.

The social barriers to secondary education in France began to be lowered between 1936 and 1940. An analysis of regional variations in this trend seems to indicate that factors of an economic or institutional kind, such as levels of wages or training, provision of school-places, and even scholarships, do not suffice to account for, although they have a certain bearing on it. It seems probable that it cannot be explained except in terms of a spontaneous demand from the mass of the people for a longer school life for their children, which is to say, for a higher standard of culture and a higher standard of living. The causes and variations of this movement have yet to be determined, for it does not seem to follow the same pattern as the overall rise in the rate of school attendance throughout the country.

The Changing Social Function of the English Secondary Modern School

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MASS secondary education is of comparatively recent origin in England. Before 1944, most children received a 'Public Elementary' education, sometimes in schools catering for all ages from five to fourteen, but more commonly in infant and junior schools from five to eleven, and senior or central schools from eleven to fourteen. On the basis of a competitive examination at the end of the junior school stage, some pupils obtained 'special places', with financial assistance if need be, in the fee-charging Secondary (Grammar) schools. In 1945, with the implementation of the policy of 'Secondary education for all', the senior and central schools all became Secondary Modern schools. The remaining all-age schools have largely been reorganised, and in 1961 just under seventy per cent of children of secondary school age who are being educated within the state system, are in attendance at Secondary Modern schools.

Whatever differences there may be between individual Modern schools, or groups of such schools, they all have certain common characteristics which distinguish them from other types of secondary school. Firstly, their pupils are those who have not been selected for Grammar or Technical school education; although fees have been abolished, and Modern, Technical and Grammar schools have nominally equal status, many more parents want their children to be educated in Grammar schools than there are places available, and thus there is still a strong competitive element associated with the eleven-plus allocation procedures. Secondly, the curricula of Modern schools are not primarily directed towards success in public examinations, as are those of the Grammar schools, although an increasing number of Modern school pupils do in fact take part in such examinations. Thirdly, the staff of Modern schools are on the whole less well qualified academically than those of other types of secondary school, the large majority having received their post-school education and professional training either at teachers' training colleges or through the one year emergency scheme established after the second world war. Fourthly, even in districts where pupils in Grammar schools are largely of working class origin, the Modern schools have a larger proportion of boys and girls from working class homes, particularly from the semi-skilled and unskilled level. As a concomitant of this, and of the fact that it has all the dull children in its area who are not being educated at special schools or outside the state system, the Modern school tends to have a larger number of pupils who constitute behaviour problems than can be found in other secondary schools. Fifthly, the great majority of Modern school pupils leave school at the minimum statutory leaving age of fifteen, although the numbers staying on beyond this age are increasing. The lower average age of the pupils, as compared with Grammar schools of comparable size, affects the calculation of the salary of the head teacher and the number of additional payments available for staff, causing the Secondary Modern teacher, on average, to be paid less than his Grammar school counterpart, although both receive the same basic salary. In a similar connection, the scale of equipment for Modern schools is seldom as generous as that for other types of secondary school. Finally, the occupations taken up by Modern school leavers are generally of a lower status, in terms of current evaluations, than those entered by Grammar school pupils, and show a greater proportion of semi-skilled and unskilled employments.

Current interest in the development of advanced courses for the older pupils in Secondary Modern schools, in the growth of examination work for the more able and the proliferation of out-of-school activities, has tended to obscure the fundamental social and educational realities that differentiate the Secondary Modern from other types of secondary school. There has been a tendency to concentrate upon the practical achievements of individual schools, and to be somewhat shy of discussing the social and educational presuppositions that underly the work of the Secondary Modern *school*. This is understandable, but misguided. Political interests have played some part; recent Conservative governments, for example, have been concerned to emphasise the opportunities the Modern school provides, partly to conteract the attractions of the Comprehensive school. It does not do to ignore the features that distinguish one Modern school from another, but we are concerned in this paper with an analysis of their common and unifying features. Admittedly, there has been considerable differentiation among Secondary Modern schools since 1945, as was officially anticipated, and, indeed, intended. It is questionable, however, whether the pattern that this differentiation has taken is the one expected by most interpreters of post-war secondary school development. In particular, the present stress upon objective criteria of pupils' attainment, such as success in external examinations, is very different from what was suggested for the Modern school, and the measure of vocationalism present in some specialised courses today goes well beyond what was considered desirable in 1944. The early post-war years were characterised by a spate of publications and speeches, both official and otherwise, about the future of the Modern school, often couched in terms of the most vague generality, and evoking educational ideals that were far removed from what appeared, especially to the practicing teacher, to be either possible or desirable courses of action. Since 1944, however, powerful social forces have influenced the work of the Modern school. Firstly, economic and occupational changes have led, on the one hand, to demands for new types of skill and training which the traditional tripartite system of secondary schools is ill-equipped to satisfy, and on the other, to the individual citizen acquiring considerably more power as a consumer and the opportunity to expend larger sums on satisfying educational needs. Secondly, the social tensions and attitudes which arise in a society which is geared to the achievement of a high level of social mobility through education have affected the way in which the schools and their work have been evaluated, and influenced the direction of educational change. This essay represents a brief account of the effects of these influences on the Modern school, illustrating, among other things, the difficulties of reconciling an educational system based on premises of equality and the provision of a liberal education with the realities of occupational and social stratification.

'A different kind of excellence'

Whilst establishing the principle of secondary education for all, the 1944 Education Act did not specify the types of schools in which local authorities would provide this education. In most areas a tripartite system was decided upon; the selective schools that had, up to 1944, provided the only education officially recognised as secondary, became Grammar schools; the Junior Technical schools, where they existed, assumed secondary status; and the senior, central and other non-selective post-primary schools that had provided for the schooling of the majority of children from eleven to fourteen, became Secondary Modern schools. A change of name did not, in many cases, result in any striking changes in practice, most Modern schools continuing to provide a sound senior elementary education. But there was already in 1945 a considerable body of educational literature concerned with the development of this new type of school. The rethinking that followed the publication of the official report on 'The Education of the Adolescent' in 1926, in which progressive educational thinking was strongly to the fore, had been augmented during the war years by the statements and publications of organisations and individuals strongly embued with the spirit of social reform. Then, in the period between 1945 and 1949, there appeared a series of official pamphlets which set out the ideas and suggestions of the Ministry of Education with respect to the future of the Modern school. There were many common elements in the purposes, aims and methods suggested by all this literature.

The Modern school would be given parity of conditions with other types of secondary school; 'parity of esteem' it must earn by its own efforts.[1] Examinations and set objectives must be replaced by a more flexible curriculum that would make extensive use of project methods, centres of interest and so on. The work of the Modern school must not be vocational, but it must be practical, in recognition of the postulated non-verbal, non-abstract mental characteristics of the type of child admitted. Above all, the Modern school must not become a pale imitation of the Grammar school. It must create a new and distinctive form of secondary education, owing little to the academic traditions of the past – parity of esteem must be secured on the basis of a different kind of excellence. The emphasis throughout was upon internal rather than external incentives, upon the child rather than the subject. In the Ministry of Education's pamphlet 'The New Secondary Education', teachers were warned to be on their guard against thinking that what suited them at the Grammar school might necessarily suit their pupils. A training in the tradition of the Grammar school "need not, of course, prove any obstacle to being a good teacher in a Modern school."[1] The teachers would be "free to plan the curriculum of the school on purely educational lines,"[2] bearing in mind that the "aim of the Modern school is to provide a good all-round secondary education, not focussed primarily on the traditional subjects of the school curriculum, but developing out of the interests of the children... Freedom and flexibility are of its essense and are indeed its great opportunity."[3] But the freedom intended was freedom *from* examinations and traditional demands, not freedom *to* develop the type of examination and vocational course that has become the hallmark of the successful Modern school in 1961. The ideals of the immediately post-war period involved not only a concept of the Modern school, but also the concept of a society in which the strains and stresses of occupational and social competition would be considerably reduced, and motives higher than those of profit and personal gain would direct human endeavour. It had become clear that no statutory reorganisation of secondary education along "comprehensive" lines could be hoped for, and that the selective schools, despite changes in the basis of recruitment of their pupils, would continue to exercise their function of educating an elite. Thus the Modern school, with its rather less clearly defined social purposes, became the centre towards which much of this educational idealism was directed, and "purely educational" aims were formulated which took little account of the strength and pervasiveness of status factors and the rapidity and extent of technological change.

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[1] Parity of conditions between the various types of secondary school has not in fact been achieved. Vaizey has stated that "it is likely that the average Grammar school child receives 170% more per year, in terms of resources, than the average Modern school child", and that although only about 29% of the children attend Grammar schools, 49% of the expenditure is devoted to them. Vaizey J., '*The Costs of Education*' (London, 1958), p. 102.

Examinations and Advanced courses

"Standards, right values, the science of good and evil – to implant these is an essential part of education. Many forces hinder this work, but two of the most serious hindrances to it are examinations and specialisation."[4] This comment of 1943 is typical of much of the educational thinking of that time; yet it is just these hindrances that have now been accepted by many Secondary Modern schools as the terms in which the education that they provide must be carried on. The post-war pressures of economic change and social stratification, showing themselves through public opinion and the demands of parents and employers, have been most keenly felt by the head teachers and teachers of the Modern schools, who have themselves taken the lead in initiating advanced and examination work.

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[1] "*The New Secondary Education*", Ministry of Education Pamphlet No. 9, (London, 1947) p. 30.

[2] Ibid., p. 31.

[3] Ibid., p. 29–30.

[4] Livingstone, Sir Richard, "*Education for a World Adrift*", (Cambridge, 1943) p. 119.

Criticism of examinations during the period 1938 to 1945 was concentrated upon the School Certificate, taken by most Grammar school pupils at about the age of sixteen, but hardly taken at all in the non-selective post-primary schools. The examination was accused of having undesirable effects upon the curriculum and standards of the schools, of stifling initiative, encouraging premature specialisation, causing pupils to undergo excessive strain, and acting undesirably as an employment certificate and passport to white collar work. It was felt by many that an external examination should not normally be taken by pupils leaving school at sixteen, and the new General Certificate of Education, which replaced the School Certificate, was intended principally for pupils continuing their education into the Sixth forms of Grammar schools with a view to going on to the University or some other further education.

This movement to limit the use of examinations in secondary schools ran counter, however, to social and economic forces which have, since 1945, made examinations and paper qualifications of more rather than less importance; for a growing number of individuals, the only means by which occupational and social advance may be secured is by the possession of qualifications of some kind or another. In these circumstances, it soon proved impossible to restrict the use of the G.C.E. to its original purposes, and passes in three, five or more subjects are now demanded by many employers of young people leaving school at sixteen. This is true not only in respect of office employment, but also of many apprenticeships and other types of work. In many areas, until very recently, allocation to the Modern school at the age of eleven-plus ruled out the possibility of a child being able to sit for an external examination of any kind before the end of his full-time school life. Furthermore, the orientation of Modern school work, and the scholastic climate of the school itself, were such as to make preparation for examinations after leaving school very difficult for the majority of pupils. Anxiety on the part of parents regarding the outcome of the eleven-plus examination has thus been less in terms of the educational merits of the schooling that the child will receive than concern regarding the importance of 'Grammar school qualifications' – Ordinary and Advanced level G.C.E. – in the determination of a future career.

Whilst the occupational contributions of Grammar and Modern schools are by no means uniform – a substantial number of Modern school pupils take up unskilled work and very few begin training for the professions, the reverse being true for the Grammar schools – there are few types of work between the extremes of the occupational hierarchy that are the prerogative of the pupils of one particular type of school.[1] This being the case, pupils at Modern schools that do not provide any form of preparation for an external examination are at a great and undeserved disadvantage compared with pupils from selective schools, both with respect to entry to a particular occupation and subsequent progress and advancement. Thus the efforts that have been made to provide courses for the G.C.E. and other external examinations in the Modern schools can be seen as responses to the demand for a reduction in the significance of the tripartite system as an agency of occupational selection.

In the early years after 1944, official and unofficial sources combined to discourage the use of external examinations in Modern schools. The Consultative Committee on Secondary education of 1938 had looked forward to the time when "children will increasingly find a value in what they are studying for its own sake, and form interests quite unrelated to any extraneous objective or resultant advantage"[2], and the Ministry of Education had made clear in the early post-war pamphlets their view that external examinations had no place in the Secondary Modern school.[3] At no time, however, was preparation for the General Certificate of Education in the Modern school expressly forbidden, and official views have gradually been modified to accept the place of such work in these schools. The number of Modern school candidates has increased from some seven thousand in 1955 to nearly twenty two thousand in 1960, and there is little doubt that the number of schools taking part and the number of candidates will continue to increase.[4]

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[1] "By far the largest number of craft apprentices come from the modern and all-age school; however, the contribution of the grammar and technical school, 23 per cent, is far from negligible. With learnerships (representing higher and lower grades of training) the percentage from these selective schools is still higher – 29 per cent. Just as there is considerable overlap between the various types of school in their contribution to the lower levels of training, so there is some overlap, more surprisingly, with the higher trainees where there is some contribution from the all-age and modern schools." '*15 to 18*'. Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education (England), (London 1960), Vol II, p. 151.

[2] *Report of the Consultative Committee on Secondary Education*, (London, 1938), p. 266.

[3] "In schools that have to cope with the wide ranges of ability and aptitude that are found in all modern schools it is impracticable to combine a system of external examinations, which presupposes a measure of uniformity, with the fundamental conception of modern school education, which insists on variety. Internal tests based on the syllabus of work actually covered by the individual pupils, rather than any preconceived notion of the standards appropriate to a particular age, will alone adequately meet the case." "The New Secondary Education", op. cit., p. 46.

[4] Although impressive, these figures need to be evaluated in terms of the total populations to which they refer. Only 6.3 per cent of the boys and 9.7 per cent of the girls entered by Modern schools for the G.C.E. in 1959 secured passes in five or more subjects, which is the minimum requirement for many purposes, such as entry to a teachers' training college. Twenty-one per cent of the boys and twenty-three per cent of the girls secured no passes at all. Only nine hundred and seventy out of a total of some three thousand eight hundred Modern schools entered candidates. The 22,000 boys and girls entered in 1960 were drawn from an age group in the Modern school in the previous year of some 393,000. The G.C.E. work of the Modern school is still very far from off-setting the known error in secondary school selection, which is generally agreed to be in the order of ten per cent of the total age group.

In addition to preparing pupils for the G.C.E., many Modern schools also provide other 'extended courses' which also require an extra year of full-time education. Many of these are of a strongly vocational character, and are extensions of the advanced work pursued by many pupils during their normal four year course at the Modern school. This advanced and specialised work may vary from a system of simple options, fourth year pupils being permitted to specialise in certain subjects for a few periods each week, to something approaching a directly vocational training. Much of this work is examined, sometimes through the various local and regional schemes that have been developed, sometimes by the school participating in the nationally organised examinations of such bodies as the Royal Society of Arts and the College of Preceptors. The local and regional examinations, organised by groups of schools in co-operation with local administrators, technical colleges and so on, vary widely in respect of the degree of internal and external influence over the setting and assessment of papers, and in respect of the standards expected and achieved. Some are set and marked by the teachers in the individual schools taking part, the scripts being moderated by assessors appointed by the committee running the scheme. Others have a certain proportion of externally set and marked papers – particularly in the basic subjects, such as English and Mathematics – whilst the remaining subjects are dealt with internally. In addition to the national, regional and local schemes, some schools have their own leaving certificates, internally organised, but sometimes externally moderated. The principal role of most of these advanced courses and examination schemes, other than those for the G.C.E., is as a stimulant to the interest and effort of the pupils, and as means of improving the standards of work achieved. Some professional bodies and technical colleges recognise certain of these certificates and awards as entrance qualifications or as granting exemption from their own preliminary examinations.

An official committee has recently suggested the introduction of a new national examination of a lower level of difficulty than the G.C.E., to be administered by regional boards on which teachers would be represented, and suited for sixteen year old candidates from Secondary Modern schools as well as some boys and girls from other types of secondary school.[1] Since the status of an educational institution is partly dependent on its links with higher education, there would seem to be the possible danger that such an examination, if it drew no strength from its connections with the education of an elite, or opened no doors to further qualifications, would be unlikely to possess much real standing, might exacerbate the distinction between different types of secondary school, and would ultimately become socially and educationally devalued. Whatever the drawbacks of the G.C.E. as an examination for the Modern school, it is at least the same examination as is taken by pupils in the elite secondary schools, and has direct and visible connections with a variety of forms of higher education.

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[1] "*Secondary school examinations other than the G.C.E.*", Ministry of Education. (London, 1960).

The role of the teachers

Official attitudes on the development of the Modern school have tended to lag behind the practice of the schools themselves. It has been individual and group decisions by head teachers, teachers and local administrators, rather than official policy or the working out of some set of educational principles, that has been responsible for the change in the concept of the Secondary Modern school since 1945.

The degree of individual freedom of action permitted to teachers and head teachers in England and Wales is much greater than in most other countries. In contrast to France, the function of the Inspectorate is primarily advisory, and the pronouncements of the Ministry of Education and other official bodies are suggestions rather than directions. In contrast to the United States, the direct influence of the local community on the day to day work of the school, in the form of parental pressure or the decisions of elected representatives, is small. On the other hand, the teacher in this country is by no means isolated from society. His range of choice is limited by the buildings and equipment he has available, and by the length of time that his pupils remain at school. He is sensitive to the attitudes of parents and pupils towards the education provided, and he becomes aware, through the fortunes of his former pupils or in other less direct ways, of the demands being made by employers and higher education. At the same time, as parents and employers have been exerting pressure for a more systematic type of teaching, higher standards and some tangible indications of achievement, teachers themselves have been encouraged to think along similar lines by the need to enhance the position of the Modern school in the educational structure, by the influence of their own educational and social background, the training they have undergone, and the principles on which their salary structure is based.

Most Modern schools' teachers were themselves educated at Grammar schools; to an increasing extent, the Modern school is the school to which the Modern school teacher managed to avoid being allocated at the age of eleven. At the Grammar school the intending teacher experiences a subject-centred, examined curriculum, which undoubtedly affects his conception of what constitutes secondary education. The work of the teachers' training colleges, from which most Secondary Modern teachers at present qualify, has become more formal and academic in recent years, in keeping with the demands of the schools for more specialist teachers. University graduates, with a background of specialised academic work, already constitute 17 per cent of the staffs of Secondary Modern schools, and their numbers are likely to increase very considerably during the next decade.[1] This increase is likely to still further encourage the growth of subject-centred and examined work.

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[1] There has already been a very substantial increase in the percentage of graduate head teachers of Modern schools, many of whom have had considerable experience in the Grammar schools.

Teachers in all types of Primary and secondary school in England and Wales are paid in accordance with the same basic scale, but in each of the post-1945 salary agreements there has been a tendency for differential payments for responsibility, qualifications and extra training to increase in relation to this basic scale. This has favoured graduates, head teachers and teachers serving in Grammar schools, and there are quite substantial *de facto* differences between the average salaries of teachers serving in different types of school. With the introduction in 1956 of a more uniform system of payments for responsibility, and the weighting of older pupils in Modern schools for the purposes of the "Unit total", which determines the number and size of extra payments, there has been a greater tendency for responsibility in the Modern school to be defined in terms of subjects, in a similar manner to most Grammar schools. This, once again, both reflects and further encourages the general movement away from the project-based, child centred, "progressive" concept of the Modern school towards a more subject centred and systematic type of curriculum and teaching.

Modern school teachers were given the freedom to experiment and to determine their own curricula and methods. After some initial hesitation, they have chosen to develop types of work that not only seem to satisfy the demands that society is making upon the schools, but also approximate to the teachers' own conception of what secondary education should mean, require the type of syllabus that seems to both interest and encourage pupils, and furnish the results that gain school and teacher recognition and esteem in the local and national community.

The Modern school and Educational Needs

Whilst official educational opinion has been some way behind the developing practice of the Modern schools, right-wing politicians have strongly encouraged the extension of advanced and examination work. This support derives partly from their opposition to the large scale introduction of Comprehensive secondary schools and their desire to keep intact the separate status and function of the Grammar school. If the Modern school can be seen to provide genuine equality of educational opportunity, then the strength of the demands for a comprehensive re-organisation will be reduced. It is doubtful, however, if at the present time the advanced and examination work of the Modern school is capable of preventing the wastage of talent that recent enquiries have shown to be continuing since 1944. Quite apart from the inevitable inaccuracies of selection procedures at eleven plus, it needs to be re-emphasised that although the current concept of Secondary Modern schooling tends to stress examination and advanced work, by no means all schools provide opportunities of this kind. While it is probable that a majority of Modern schools are now participating in some form of nationally, regionally or locally organised examination scheme, and undertake some types of specialised work in the fourth year, it is perhaps the extended courses which require pupils to complete an extra year or more of full-time schooling beyond the statutory leaving age of fifteen, that are most likely to serve best the future technological needs of society. A growing number of pupils are in fact remaining at Modern schools for a fifth year, but these constitute only a very small percentage of their particular age groups, and it is likely that between a third and a half of those who stay on do so for the purpose of sitting for the G.C.E. The factors that determine whether a child remains at school beyond the age of fifteen are as much social as intellectual, however, and it is not always the pupils most capable of advanced study who are to be found undertaking extended courses.[1] Especially in industrial areas where apprenticeships are offered at the age of fifteen, there is a tendency for the most able boys of working class origins to leave school at the end of the four years course. Most of them continue with some form of part-time education, both in the evenings and through the schemes of day-release operated by most of the larger firms, but it has been shown that the boy whose general education did not extend beyond a four year Modern school course is at a disadvantage in comparison with boys who have stayed at school until sixteen,[2] and the failure rates in these part-time courses are very high.[3]

Another consideration is the extent to which the scholastic and vocational climate of the Modern school helps to determine a pupil's level of performance and ambition. There is evidence to suggest that pupils are very conscious of the social and vocational implications of eleven-plus selection,[4] and that their vocational interests and wishes, emerging during the period of adolescence, are powerfully affected by the type of secondary education they are receiving.[5] The extension of advanced work may do something to combat the Modern school pupil's sense of educational and social inferiority, but there is no evidence to suggest that the claims made in this direction apply to more than a minority of Modern schools throughout the country.

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[1] "...the Modern schools as a whole are the most homogenous element among English schools – the children of non-manual workers are much underrepresented, and the children of semi-skilled workers over-represented. This is much less true of their extended courses, where there is a substantial contribution from most social groups. No systematic information is available, but the records of a number of individual schools show among the parents a fair proportion of officers from the Services, farmers, professional men and managers as well as larger numbers of manual workers of all kinds." "*15 to 18*" op. cit., Vol I, p. 74.

[2] "It was found that the percentage gaining Ordinary and Higher National Certificates was somewhat below average among students who had left school at fifteen, who had attended all-age or modern schools, whose fathers were in unskilled occupations or who took no part in playing games." "*15 to 18*", op. cit., Vol I, p. 362.

[3] Ibid., pp. 354–355, and Vol II, Pt III, Technical Courses survey, p. 183 f.

[4] Himmelweit H.T., Halsey A. H., and Oppenhiem A.N.. "The views of adolescents on some aspects of the social class structure", *British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. III, No. 2, June 1952.

[5] On the basis of her studies of vocational choice among Modern school pupils, Wilson concludes, "If there is a general tendency for children to aim at the highest occupation available to their group, the British system of segregating those of supieror intelligence in Grammar schools automatically becomes a form of vocational as well as educational guidance." Wilson M. D., "The Vocational preferences of Secondary Modern schoolchildren", *British Journal of Educational Psychology*, 1953, p. 176. With respects to a later study, Clements states "The analysis of the jobs chosen and of those mentioned as to be avoided, suggested that these children did not choose from a whole range of occupations, though they may not have realised this – their mental equipment and their social and

Finally, whilst the examination work that has characterised the Modern school's attempt to "contract in" to the competitive world of vocational advancement and success has enabled the school to enhance its prestige and has satisfied the aspirations of many parents and pupils, it has also tended to encourage competition between and within schools; examination success has in some places become too highly valued as an index of achievement. Although the social and economic pressures for "qualifications" are strong, the tripartite system itself tends to encourage further the multiplication of examinations and external marks of success for reasons of parity and prestige between schools. This militates against the occupational flexibility and mobility that are necessary in an expanding and rapidly changing industrial society. An unselective secondary school system, in addition to its purely educational advantages, would at least have the merit of working against the trends of status differentiation that characterise the growing specialisation of occupations and skills, and might help to reduce the significance of paper qualifications insofar as these are required for their comparative value.

Social reality and Education Change

During the nineteen fifties, changes in methods of production and industrial and commercial processes rendered concepts of educational provision based on the dichotomy of workshop and profession out of date. Mass secondary education has become something more than an attempt to liberalise and civilise the worker; it is called upon to provide the essential basis on which the higher levels of skill and training now required can be built up, and to furnish a general education of such a standard as will help to ensure the adaptability of the individual and the flexibility of the labour force that rapidly changing conditions will require. In the face of these demands, the attempt to establish a new concept of secondary education for the bulk of the population, untrammelled by the demands of examinations, has met with conspicuous failure. In fact, those schools which by their emphasis upon activity and experience rather than formal subject methods, have tried to carve out for themselves a new path for adolescent education, are now obliged to fight a rear guard action against the questioning of their standards of attainment, pressure from parents to provide examination courses, and the difficulties of being "odd school out" in the local area. The attempt to create a *distinctive* type of Modern school

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educational milieu have established, within broad limits, the particular segment of possible occupations in terms of which they think." Clements R. V., "*The Choice of careers by school-children*" (Manchester, 1958) p. 15.

education was foredoomed to failure because of its inherent contradictions. It was at one and the same time a vehicle for the integrative idealism of the left and the exclusive separatism of the right. Through its practical – rather than vocational – bias, its cultural orientation, and the reform of the subject-centred curriculum, the Modern school was to provide a training in social co-operation and an example of democratic practice, embracing an acceptance of all forms of manual and non-manual, hand and brain work as of equal value to the community. Yet at the same time, because of the structure of the society in which the school was to operate, this conception of secondary education for the mass of the population was essentially undemocratic. If the Modern school and the Grammar school were to provide different educational diets, then the whole burden of educational and social selection would be thrown on the eleven-plus allocation procedures, which were never designed to bear such burdens, and which recent researches have shown to be manifestly unsuited to do so. Secondary education in a mass society must be thought of in total terms, rather than with reference to the education of the "average" and the "elite". The attempt to fit such a total concept of education within a tripartite structure in the years after 1944 failed, firstly, because the terms in which this concept was thought out were socially and educationally unrealistic, and secondly because the strength of the traditional elements in the tripartite structure itself was underestimated. In contrast to many of the publications of the early post-war period, recent official statements and reports on education have shown a greater willingness to take into account the facts of social stratification and technological change. The way in which the Secondary Modern school has developed over the past fifteen years is adequate testimony to the importance of these influences, and of the need for educational thinking to be based on a much more thorough understanding of social and economic realities than has been the case in the past.

The Growth of Extended Courses in English Secondary Modern Schools[1]

by

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THE growth of extended courses has been the most distinctive and significant feature of English secondary modern schools. In their first ten years, from very local and tentative beginnings, they had met with great success in almost every school which had introduced them. They had transformed many schools from a condition of low prestige and low morale to one of high prestige and high morale, and had inspired two regional and two national surveys.[2] This article outlines the sociological background to their introduction; their functions and implications within the social system of the school; and their repercussions in the wider society.

1. The sociological background to the introduction of extended courses

The development of the courses can be traced to the confluence of two trends in English society: the concentration of selection for social mobility within the educational system, and the increasing formalisation of occupational entry qualifications. This confluence and its effects on the grammar school have attracted the attention of many educational sociologists.[3] Its impact on the modern school has been similar, and in some respects greater.

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[1] The research on which this article is based owes very much to the supervision of Dr. A. H. Halsey – directly and also indirectly through his writings; and it is a pleasure to express my gratitude to him. Some of the results have been published in Morris, R. N. "Fifth-year courses in Birmingham's modern schools", *Educ. Rev.* 12 (1), 1959; and Morris, R. N. "The cult of examinations". *Education* 6/5/60.

[2] Cutts, G. W. "Local school-leaving certificates". *Journal of Education*, April 195; Moon, A. *Educational provision for able children not selected for grammar or technical schools.* Unpub. M.A. thesis, Univ. of Birmingham, 1955; National Union of Teachers. *A memorandum on some aspects of the work of the new secondary schools.* London: N.U.T., mimeo, 1955; National Ass. of Divisional Executives for Education. "Advanced courses and examinations in secondary modern schools". Appendix to the Executive Committee meeting minutes, 18/6/53.

[3] Notably Floud, J. E., Halsey, A. H. & Martin, F. M. *Social class and educational opportunity.* London: Heinemann, 1957; Banks, O. L. *Parity and prestige in English secondary education.* London: Routledge, 1955. The "early leaving" studies have approached the same problem

Secondary modern schools assumed their present title in 1944, when an Education Act granted them formal equality of status with the selective grammar and technical schools, to which the most able children were allocated at the age of 11+.[1] Fee-paying was abolished in all State-controlled schools; all secondary school places became open to competition. The modern schools retained their manifest function of educating the manual workers who form 70–75% of the British labour force; but this function proved (and still proves) difficult to elaborate. It was clear that all children should be literate and should learn the basic manual skills; but there was strong opposition to vocational training by the schools, and in the event they were left to find their own aims and incentives. A report[2] issued in 1949 "reluctantly reached the conclusion that for the time being the sole certain indicator (of a child's suitability) for a modern school is unsuitability for a grammar or technical school". This is still generally true, as one might expect: socialisation and social control tend to be concentrated on future leaders and potential deviants, since these form the main channels of social change. The "ordinary members" of a society are relatively neglected; they receive a basic education appropriate to the status of ordinary member, and are not singled out for any special treatment.[3] Given this freedom to manoeuvre, modern-school education has generally concentrated on the brightest and the dullest children.[4] The modern schools and their lineal predecessors have always produced "tops"[5]: small groups of children who have remained at school beyond the minimum leaving-age in order to prepare for specific examinations and social mobility; but in the past these have always been few in number.

If the modern schools were given no clear purpose, however, they inherited a strong tradition of low prestige and low morale. Their low prestige was a reflection both of the many inequalities which still existed within the educational system[6] and the relatively low social status of the occupations for which the modern school offered a preparation.[7] As a result, middle-class parents were often

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(Contd. from page 188)
from the other end: the reasons why able children left the grammar schools prematurely – notably Central Advisory Council for Education. *Early leaving.* London: H.M.S.O., 1954, and several theses.

[1] Nationally, 20–25% of children are allocated to grammar or technical schools; but there are enormous regional variations.

[2] National Union of Teachers. *Report on transfer from primary to secondary schools.* London: N.U.T., 1949. Most official reports conceive of only one alternative to academic and technical education – practical education.

[3] This is the main conclusion of Loukes, H. *Secondary modern.* London: Harrap, 1956.

[4] When Heads are implicitly or explicitly criticised for paying too much attention to the brightest children, their usual reaction is to point to the special efforts being made to educate the dullest children – only very rarely is mention made of the ordinary children.

[5] The N.U.T. memorandum traces this back to the first World War; but the development is probably as old as the schools themselves.

[6] This is true in every respect for which figures are published: teacher-pupil ratios; proportion of staff who are University graduates; Head's salary; and capitation allowances. On this last point, see the report to the Herts. C. C. Education Committee. *The secondary modern school. The first ten years – and the next ten.* St. Albans: Herts. C. C., mimeo, 1955.

[7] This is a principal theme of Banks, op. cit.

willing to pay high fees for private education if their children failed to gain admission to a grammar or technical school; and the modern school population was almost entirely of working-class origin. Most modern school children aspired to manual work,[1] rejecting clerical and professional occupations which required more than the statutory minimum education. In the past, such behaviour was functional in providing the working-class family with the maximum possible number of earners, and buttressing it against the effects of unemployment and irregular earnings. As the State has assumed the function of maintaining full employment and cushioning the family's economic status, other incentives have developed and maintained the tradition of leaving the modern school at the earliest opportunity. The breadwinner's earnings have been higher and more regular since the war, and the contributions demanded from the secondary earners have fallen.[2] There has also been a relative rise in juvenile wages; and as a result young earners now have far more pocket-money than their contemporaries who have remained at school. This differential has provided new incentives to equate leaving school with reaching adult status and to attach low prestige to the status of school-child. The low prestige of the schools has been accompanied by low morale and a lack of interest in the education offered.[3] Such was the situation in which the modern schools found themselves after 1944.

The impetus to the development of extended courses has come mainly from the increasing tendency to define occupational entry-qualifications formally in terms of the possession of certain educational certificates. This has long been true of many non-manual occupations: but since the war it has extended to include many forms of manual work. Formalisation has been most rapid in the large cities, where the emphasis on achieved rather than ascribed status has perhaps always been greatest. The trend is most clearly seen in the growing number of workers (mainly apprentices) released for further education during their employers' time. 42,000 were released in 1939; 190,000 in 1947; and 438,000 in 1958: this represented roughly one-third of the boys and one-twelfth of the girls in the age-group. This growth has not been dependent upon the state of the juvenile labour market: when labour has been scarce, employers have offered further education and attractive prospects; when plentiful, they have been able to choose the applicants with most formal educational qualifications. The institutions offering these facilities for further education have generally insisted on minimum entry qualifications for their courses, at least in the large cities. The growth of the extended courses results from the confluence of these two tendencies: for the modern schools to produce "tops" and for entry qualifications to skilled manual employment to become formalised. The rate of growth, often in the face of acute shortages of staff and facilities, has been an impressive indication of the social pressures supporting the courses in many parts of the country.

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[1] Jahoda, G. "Job attitudes and job choice among secondary modern school leavers". *Occupational psychol.* 26 (3 & 4), 1954; Wilson, M. D. "The vocational preferences of secondary modern schoolchildren". *Brit. J. Educ. Psychol.* Jun. & Nov. 1953.

[2] Abrams, M. A. "The younger generation. The facts of young life". *Encounter*, April 1956.

[3] Miller asked 174 grammar school and 224 modern school children, mostly aged 13–14, to rate their schools in various respects on 5-point scales. He found significant differences in the ratings for feelings about school; the standing of the school in the community; and parental interest; but none in respect of feelings about the course. Miller, T. W. G. *A critical and empirical study of the emergence, development and significance of the comprehensive secondary school in England.* Unpub. Ph. D. thesis, Univ. of Birmingham, 1958.

Recent official reports[1] have become increasingly sympathetic to the courses, and to pressure for the establishment of impersonal examinations on a regional or national basis at a level lower than that of the G.C.E. The success of the extended courses has threatened at least one educational myth: that of a limited national "pool of talent". This myth has been based on the assumptions that socially useful ability can be equated with intelligence test scores, and that the latter are hereditarily determined. Although these myths have been challenged from many points of view they are persistent and in some respects functional.

In Britain the educational system is the principal agent of social selection, and entry to the higher occupational and social statuses depends to a large extent upon the possession of formal educational certificates. While the principle of status-achievement implies that educational opportunity should be open to all, the hierarchical social structure requires the limitation of access to social rewards, including educational opportunity.[2] The myth of a "pool of ability" has been functional in reconciling this conflict. It has functioned in the past to justify the selection of the potential elite at 11+, and their segregation in special educational establishments with unique access to the G.C.E. The success of the extended courses, in training children from modern schools to pass G.C.E., has further threatened but by no means demolished this myth. As formal occupational entry qualifications have extended to skilled manual occupations, the boundaries of the pool of ability have been perceived to grow. The number of children passing G.C.E. at each level is rising rapidly; and the rise is most rapid in the secondary modern schools, over 5% of whose children now sit for G.C.E.[3] In the schools offering extended courses, about 20% on the average are already staying on to take an external examination.[4] Although official reports in the

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[1] Notably the Crowther and Beloe reports: Central Advisory Council for Education (England). *Fifteen to eighteen.* London: H.M.S.O., 1959, 2 vols; Secondary Schools Examinations Council (England & Wales). *Secondary school examinations other than G.C.E.* London: H.M.S.O., 1960. The Minister of Education, however, remains opposed to the introduction of a second national examination at a standard lower than that of the G.C.E.

[2] In the United States, where traditional democratic values required the removal of limitations on access to social rewards, the problem has taken different forms: e.g., Warner, W. L., Havighurst, R. J. & Loeb, M. B. *Who shall be educated.* London: Routledge, 1946; Whyte, W. H. *The organization man.* London: Cape, 1957.

[3] 33% of the modern schools entered candidates, 21,700 in all, in 1960; for 1959, the figures were 25% and 15,600: *Times educ. supp.* 24/2/61.

[4] Morris, R. N. "The cult of examinations" *Education* 6/5/60, gave an estimate of 20–25% for 1958. The survey made for the Beloe Report (Appendix 6) gives a figure of nearly 18% for the same year: 54% of modern school children were in schools which took an external examination; and on the average, 9.5% of all modern school children in the age-group took such an examination.

1940s were in favour of limiting the opportunity to attend grammar schools and sit for the G.C.E., the popularity of this type of education has risen continually.[1] The Crowther and Beloe Reports[2] both consider now that 35–45% of secondary modern school children should be capable of taking an external examination. Already the critics of this trend foresee the day when every child will sit for an external examination;[3] and the advocates of a second national examination are still cautious.[4] They retain the view that most secondary modern school children are not suitable candidates for such examinations.[5] The "absurdity" of examinations for these less able children is taken for granted; many, indeed, are excluded from the examinations at 11+ because they are assumed to have no chance of success. By this means, they are excluded from the competition for non-manual occupations. The concept of a limited pool of ability, corresponding roughly in size to the amount of trained manpower currently required by the society, has thus been functional in facilitating social selection. The educational system has provided an acceptable rationale for limiting opportunity and regulating the flow of candidates for the higher occupational statuses. Yet the reality and size of the pool of ability has never been successfully established: and it has always been true especially at the higher educational levels, that many, perhaps most, of those who have the requisite ability do not take the opportunities available.[6]

My own research on the courses was limited to a survey of the literature and interviews with Head teachers in Birmingham. Fourteen of the fifteen whose schools had had extended courses for more than three years were interviewed, the interviews usually lasting 1½–2 hours. These, and the shorter interviews with seven Birmingham Heads who had no such course, were planned as preliminaries to a study of the careers of children who had followed the courses. In the event, the larger project was abandoned, and the rich material from the interviews analysed fairly fully. This technique had, of course, certain important limitations. Some Heads had neither the time nor the information to answer all the questions fully (especially if they had been appointed very recently), and to this extent the results were unrepresentative. There was no reliable means of checking the accuracy of the information received, although some

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1 See page 2, note 7.

2 See page 4, note 1.

3 Clegg, A. B. "Best of all possible? Low level examination in practice". *Times educ. supp.*, 7/10/60. See also the Minister of Education's comments, *Times educ. supp.*, 14/10/60.

4 The Beloe Report is consistently cautious in supporting such an examination; and appears to accept it reluctantly, in order to control a regrettable development. This is especially apparent in its attitude to the examining bodies, which are scapegoated and in some cases misrepresented as large impersonal organisations which are out of touch with current developments in the schools. The Report does, however, advocate that the Ministry should try to control the form taken by the external examinations, rather than frown at their existence.

5 Crowther Report, pp. 87, 88, 94; Beloe Report, p. 25.

6 Burt, C. "Ability and income" *Brit. J. educ. psychol.* 1943; Central Advisory Council for Education (England). *Early leaving.* H.M.S.O., 1954; Crowther Report II, pp. 118, 226; and most recently and fully by Floud, J. E. "Reserves of ability". *Forum* 3 (2), Spring 1961.

respondents were prone to exaggerate; much depended on the acuteness of the individual Heads as social observers. Finally, the interview schedule made the common mistake (in part due to the original intention of the research) of concentrating on the children and largely ignoring the teachers.

2. The extended courses in practice: their functions and implications for the school as a social system

Vocational training has been an essential element of almost all the extended courses which have developed: very few schools have sustained courses with a non-vocational basis. Most of the courses have been biased towards one particular occupation or one social level. The former include courses leading to a vocational training in nursing, agriculture, shorthand-typing or catering; the latter, the G.C.E. and technical courses (leading generally to clerical or highly skilled manual work). Most of them lead to specific examinations, usually conducted by the local education authority or a regional body. There has been pressure for a national examination, at a lower level than that of the G.C.E.,[1] but none has yet been instituted. There is some evidence of a relationship between the popularity of the course and the social prestige of the occupations for which it provides preliminary training. Professor Dent's first enquiry[2] suggested that, broadly speaking, "urban Heads favour entry (for the G.C.E.), rural Heads do not", which corresponds with the lower relative status of urban middle-class occupations in rural areas. Miss Joan Davis recently reported a similar finding from studies in London:[3] "Apart from commercial and pre-nursing courses there are courses variously called homecraft or catering or needlecraft, but they attract fewer girls and generally those with less ability ... the more intelligent children are attracted towards commercial courses and the less intelligent towards agricultural, catering and retail-distribution courses. Commercial courses have greater social prestige than courses in which manual work plays a large part". Thirdly, the N.U.T. survey[4] tentatively reached a similar conclusion, placing G.C.E. courses first in terms of popularity.

Fairly full information was obtained about entry to the Birmingham courses. No Heads placed any formal restrictions on entry, except to the specialised pre-nursing courses. To some extent, this reflects the weak bargaining position in which most Heads still find themselves; but the view was widely held that the opportunities should be open to all who wished to take them. The Head's role was to recruit rather than select: it was necessary to offer encouragement and positive incentives to counteract the attractions of leaving school at the earliest opportunity. Selection was performed mainly by the parents and children: while no detailed information was collected, most Heads conveyed the impression that those who stayed for a course were generally the abler students, and those from a favourable home background. The important feature of home background in this context was not the family's economic status, but its values in relation to social mobility and further education. Floud, Halsey and Martin had found the same two factors – ability and parental values – to be the principal determinants of examination success at 11+.[1] While only about half the Heads had ever advised a child not to stay on, almost all attached certain conditions of entry to the courses; and these gave them limited control over entry to the school's elite. Homework (which was rare in the lower forms of the schools) was a condition of entry to nearly all the courses; about half the Heads asked parents for a written agreement that the child would stay at school until the course was completed. There was often a tacit understanding that the child would work hard and behave; and some Heads refused to take any child who was unwilling to stay. In modern schools with no such courses, the informal leaders were often hostile to the school[2] and anxious to leave at the earliest opportunity; and the formal leaders, however chosen, had to share these values if they were to have influence as well as authority. The establishment of the courses meant that the new elite of the school had values much closer to the teachers', and that Heads had much more (if still limited) control over entry to the elite.

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[1] Ministry of Education grant regulations at present forbid State-financed schools to enter pupils under the age of 16 for external examinations other than the G.C.E. The Beloe Report recommended the establishment of a second national examination for 16-year-olds at a lower level than the G.C.E.; but this was promptly rejected by the Minister. The growth of regional and national examinations other than the G.C.E. has been well documented in Chapman, J. V. *Your secondary modern schools.* London: College of Preceptors 1959.

[2] "The modern school". *Times educ. supp.*, Sept–Oct. 1952; a more up-to-date and detailed account of the development of the courses in particular areas is given in Dent, H. C. *Secondary modern schools. An interim report.* London: Routledge, 1958.

[3] "Technical courses in modern schools in England". *Year book of education,* 1958.

[4] *A memorandum on some aspects of the work of the new secondary schools.* London: N.U.T. mimeo, 1955.

In order to retain the children at school high morale was imperative, both to generate the effort required to pass the examinations and to counteract the norms of their peer-group. This description of the means by which it was achieved is based on the interviews: it could however have been taken from a social psychology textbook. Very few negative sanctions were available; and while parental backing was important, it was hardly sufficient in itself. Careful selection for the courses was impracticable and disvalued. Examination success at the end of the courses was therefore crucial. "The secondary modern school Head has to present his school as a place which gives the same chance of successful achievement, if not in the same fields as the grammar school, at least in ways as attractive and worth while to the often rather disappointed child of 11+, and again it is the abler pupil who needs most reassurance in this respect".[3] Often it was possible to allow the children to sit for an easy examination, in order to permit success and restore confidence: the establishment of a tradition of success was crucial; and past achievements were publicised far and wide among parents and children. A good information service helped to maintain morale, through pointing out the relevance of the work to the goal and clarifying the goal itself; it might also function to let the children know exactly what was expected of them. Generally the extended course pupils became the elite of the school. They were often segregated or at least made their decision to stay, some time before beginning the course; they became the formal exemplars and bearers of the school's ideology, were prominent on ceremonial occasions and less subject to constricting school discipline. Their work was more purposeful, and they received more individual attention.[1] Mention of these other elements must not, however, distract attention from the fact that examination success was the basis of the high morale; it was my impression that the courses were still very sensitive, and that the numbers taking them dropped considerably when a change of Head occured.

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[1] *Social class and educational opportunity*. London: Heinemann, 1957.

[2] Earnshaw, H. G. "Consumers' views about a modern school". *Schoolmaster* 31/12/54; "Secondary modern preferred". *Schoolmaster* 25/2/55.

[3] Dawson, G. S. "The abler child in the secondary modern school". *J. educ.* Nov. 1954.

In general, there are two ways in which a group reacts to low status: by rejecting as irrelevant the criteria of evaluation, or by over-conformity to the values of the prestigeful. A few modern schools have successfully taken the former course; those who have introduced extended courses have taken the latter. It was clear that they had assumed nearly all the status-symbols of the prestigeful grammar schools: G.C.E. examinations, homework, prefects, school uniform, a house-system, and occasionally a sixth form. Sometimes this was a conscious manipulation of symbols, which was justified in terms of task-orientation – to dispel the feeling that the children were inferior and less able to succeed in examinations.

The courses appeared to facilitate, and at the same time necessitate, a greater emphasis on the social aspects of status-placement. The grammar schools' function in selecting for social mobility implies the function of teaching middle-class behaviour patterns to working-class children. The home generally supplies these children with values which favour education, social mobility and conformity; but often the school accepts (reluctantly) the responsibility for their socialisation in terms of dress, table manners, and the subtler behavioural class-distinctions.[2] This implication has been accepted by most of the girls' schools, as social mobility through marriage or through entry into non-manual work is relatively common for girls. In the boys' schools, where the function of selection for social mobility was much less pronounced (because it occurred only within the working-class), there was apparently less emphasis on training as hosts, in taking responsibility, and generally in following middle-class behaviour patterns.[1]

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[1] Both because they were few in number and because the education authority allowed a slightly more generous allocation of staff for the courses.

[2] "The grammar school now includes among its pupils a much higher proportion of children from poorer homes. Some of these children come from homes which are barely literate and where a book is an unusual phenomenon ... Others have very low standards of cleanliness and appearance; some seem to have had very little training in social behaviour; even table manners may leave much to be desired. Children like these have very little to give to the social or cultural life of the school; the school itself has to provide much which, before the war, would have been regarded as the normal contribution of the home". (Davies, H. "The social effects of the 1944 Act on the grammar school". *Bull. of educ.* Nov. 1950.)

The successful development of the courses also provided an incentive to the staff. Although this was largely overlooked on the interview schedule, a few pointers were available: they suggested that the distribution of social rewards consistently encouraged teachers to concentrate on the brightest (and to a lesser extent the dullest) children. The courses provided the children with such an incentive that teachers "have been amply repaid (for the extra work) by the way in which the children have responded and the gratitude so often expressed by parents"[2] Examinations appeared to have this effect whenever they were clearly related to the children's future employment and whenever success was attainable. The senior children had changed from hostility or at best sullenness to enthusiasm in most of the schools where the courses had been introduced. In the words of a critic, "Free though they have been to experiment, many schools have failed to find a real purpose to sustain them, and external examinations, it is felt, would at least fill the vacuum".[3] Many teachers performed their role better when given this encouragement; some also valued the assessment of their teaching and the possibility of comparing standards which an external examination represented. However crude and inadequate, examinations furnished a measure of the school's efficiency. The newness of the courses provided a stimulating struggle and the opportunity to teach more advanced work. The salaries of the Head and his Deputy are in part on a payment-by-results basis – results in this context refers to the number of children over fifteen in the school, and not directly to examination results. The teachers' own status would rise with the anticipated rise in the schools' prestige; and they had the satisfactions of giving another chance to the child who "failed" at 11+, and of contributing to the supply of technologists and technicians. Only two drawbacks were apparent: the considerable increase in the volume of work[4] and the reluctance to concentrate on a few children if this involved neglect of the majority.[5]

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[1] Portsmouth girls' schools, for example, included in their secretarial courses training "in the use of the telephone, that instrument of dithering ineptitude in the hands of the youthful, untrained office worker". ("Portsmouth's schools have a growing point". *Schoolmaster*, 28/3/52).

[2] Dempster, J. J. B. "Southampton's secondary schools". *Schoolmaster*, 13/2/53.

[3] Whitehead, F. "External examinations examined". *J. educ.* Feb. 1956.

[4] The teachers "have had to re-orient many of their ideas and take on responsibilities which they can never have expected to have to face, and although they have been as fully provided with books, equipment and apparatus as funds will allow, they have had to improvise very considerably to get over accommodation difficulties". (Dempster, J. J. B. "Southampton's secondary schools". *Schoolmaster*, 6/2/53.) For a fuller account of the experiments at Southampton, see Dempster, J. J. B. *Purpose in the modern school*. London: Methuen, 1956.

[5] In fact, most Heads countered this innuendo by pointing out that the incentive value of the courses and their beneficial effects had spread far down the school. See in particular the letter from a Widnes Head to the *Times educ. supp.* 31/10/58.

Statistics have been published only sporadically, but they suggest that in many cases the growth of the courses has been remarkable. At the national level, $3\frac{1}{2}\%$ of the age-group stayed on to take a fifth-year extended course in 1949; in 1957, 7% did so. Since only a minority of schools were then offering such courses, this means that on the average the courses were attracting about 20% of the age-group in the schools where courses were available.[1] In addition, about 20% of all the children who could leave stayed on voluntarily in 1957 to complete four years of secondary education wherever a course was available;[2] less than 10% had done so in 1949. The published figures for individual areas probably form a rather biased sample, since the most successful areas are more likely to publish statistics; but they are nonetheless worth quoting.

Essex County

Year beginning Sept.	1947	'48	'49	'50	'51	'52	'53	'54	'55	'56	'58
No. of courses	6	12	12	14	19	28	35	44	?	?	99
No. of children	146	329	343	358	455	580	840	945	980	1677	2894

Birmingham City

Number of schools and children taking extended courses (approx.).

	1954–5	1955–6	1956–7	1957–8	1958–9
Schools	13	15	17	22	37
Children	80	150	330	710	1190

The 1958 figures cover very roughly 15% and 10% respectively of all the children in the age-group in modern schools in Essex and Birmingham;[3] in 1958–9, about one-third of Birmingham modern schools had at least one extended course.

3. Developments in the schools' functions in the educational system

As one might expect in a society where educational provision is the responsibility of local authorities, the growth of the courses has been uneven. If equality of opportunity is defined in the narrow sense of equal opportunities to enter a grammar school, there has always been marked inequality between local authorities. Although these discrepancies are slowly being reduced, the number of grammar school places per hundred children in the age-group ranges from 10 to over 40. Provision of technical schools and extended courses is on a smaller scale; but the ratio of the highest proportion of places to the lowest is probably greater. The first survey of the courses suggested that they tended to be established in the areas which already spent most on their educational services; it would be interesting to know if this is still so. The surveys have also suggested a relationship (at least among the urban authorities) between the size of the education authority and the type of examination favoured. The larger cities (of say 400,000 and over) have generally preferred regional or national examinations; the medium-sized areas have taken an intermediate position; the smaller towns (of say 50–100,000) have mostly chosen a local examination.[1] There is probably an underlying positive relationship between town size and the importance of achievement as a determinant of occupational status.

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[1] By June 1959, however, the Beloe Report's survey showed that 54% of secondary modern schools took one or more external examinations (not necessarily at the end of fifth-year courses) and that another 30% planned to take them within a few years.

[2] At this time children were entitled to leave school at the end of the term in which their fifteenth birthday fell (or at the end of the preceding term if it fell in the vacation). With a tradition of leaving at the earliest opportunity, this meant that roughly one-third of the fourth-year children left at Christmas, one-third at Easter, and one-third in the summer.

[3] The number of children in modern schools in the age-group was roughly 20,000 in Essex and 10–12,000 in Birmingham. (Adapted from Ministry of Education, *Selected statistics relating to local education authorities in England and Wales*. London: H.M.S.O., 1958; and City of Birmingham Education Cttee., Juvenile Employment and Welfare sub-cttee. *Annual report*. The estimate for Essex is only very tentative.)

There has been surprisingly little study yet of the claim that children gain occupationally if they take an extended course. There was at first a fear that the children would lose: because the upper age-limit for many apprenticeships is the 17th. birthday; and because it was thought that employers liked to have the boys in their employment for a year before investing in their apprenticeship. An exact comparison would be difficult to make, of course; and the occupations of 16- to 18-year-olds may be poor predictors of their social mobility. The present comparisons are justified only until better ones are available.[2] The Birmingham Youth Employment Service very kindly allowed me to use the statistics it had collected on the first jobs of the children who took extended courses in 1955–6. The employment situation may of course have changed considerably since these figures were collected; but they remain the most recent available. Only one or two of these children had sat for the G.C.E. examination. They will be compared with the 18-year-olds in the Scottish Mental Health Survey[3] who left school at fifteen after completing a three-year secondary course; when they were eighteen, the social mobility associated with beginning an apprenticeship was completed. The Birmingham figures were sufficiently detailed to be fitted into the S.M.H.S. framework:

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[1] Cutts, G. W., op. cit.; "Against local examinations". *Education*, 28/2/58.

[2] The problem would have been greater, of course, had we been dealing with non-manual occupations. Nor should we assume a rate of wastage comparable with that found by Ferguson T. & Cunnison, J. *In their early twenties*. London: Heinemann, 1956; for the sample they studied was abnormal in several ways.

[3] Macpherson, J. S. *Eleven-year-olds grow up*. London U.P., 1958.

Boys

	Professional, Non-manual	*Skilled Manual*	*Semi- or Unskilled*	*N*
S. M. H. S., age 18	3½ %	45 %	52 %	403
B'ham, extended courses	23½ %	62 %	13½ %	74

Girls

	Profes-sional	*Skilled Clerical, Skilled manual*	*Other Clerical*	*Shop*	*Factory, Agri-culture, Domestic*	*N*
S. M. H. S., age 18	—	18 %	7 %	21 %	53 %	428
B'ham, extended course	7½ %	27 %	58½ %	3 %	4½ %	67

Even if there are no important differences between the occupational structures of Scotland and Birmingham, this comparison has one important defect: the children who stayed were often abler and also more ambitious. For both these reasons, they were expected to reach a higher occupational status than their contemporaries, even if they had not taken an extended course; the marked differences in the table cannot therefore be attributed solely to the influence of the courses. The effects of ambition and ability can be seen from Glass's study of social mobility, details of which are given below. Glass's figures give the occupations in 1949 of a random sample of former pupils of the modern schools, and of the Elementary schools which they replaced; it includes men of all ages, and thus makes some allowance for promotions (especially to foreman status) which take place after the age of 18:

	Professional	*Supervisory, Higher non-manual*	*Skilled, Other non-manual*	*Semi- or Unskilled*	*N*
"Social Mobility": no further education	2.0 %	16.4 %	42.7 %	38.9 %	2233
"Social Mobility": some further education	7.0 %	34.0 %	44.4 %	14.6 %	732
B'ham, extended courses	8½ %	—	77 %	13½ %	74

Source (1st. 2 lines): Glass, D.V.: *Social mobility in Britain*, pp. 296, 297.

Only one difference is noticeable between the lower two lines of the table: the extended course children were not immediately eligible for supervisory and higher non-manual positions. It appears from this limited data that the courses provide an opportunity at least equal to that formerly provided by further education facilities. If, as all the Heads believed, the extended courses encouraged more children to take advantage of the opportunities for further education, the extended course pupils may rise to higher occupational positions than their predecessors, with similar incentives and ability, were able to rise. In time, too, it seems likely that the extended courses will offer opportunities to a greater percentage than further education facilities alone used to.

Among the children who took fifth-year extended courses in 1957, 11 out of every 21 sat for G.C.E. – some 3½% of the entire age-group in the modern schools. Detailed comparisons have been made of the first occupations entered by these children and the grammar school children who left school immediately after sitting for G.C.E.; these covered roughly half the grammar school and two-thirds of the modern school candidates. The two groups had (so far as one can judge) similar qualifications, although their occupational preferences may have been different:[1]

	G.S. boys	*M.S. boys*	*G.S. girls*	*M.S. girls*
Services, Police	8 %	8 %	*	—
Training, Domestic Science or Art College	2 %	—	8 %	6 %
Uncertificated teaching	—	1 %	1 %	*
Technical College	1 %	2 %	12 %	4 %
Engineering, Industry	36 %	49 %	2 %	—
Laboratory Assts.	12 %	11 %	6 %	2 %
Banking, Accountancy, Law	8 %	2 %	8 %	4 %
Architecture, Surveying	2 %	3 %	—	—
Civil Service, Local Administration	6 %	3 %	7 %	6 %
Clerking, Secretarial	18 %	15 %	43 %	57 %
Nursing, Physiotherapy	*	*	10 %	18 %
Agriculture, Forestry	2 %	3 %	1 %	1 %
Printing, Journalism	1 %	1 %	*	*
Hairdressing	—	—	1 %	*
TOTAL (errors are due to rounding)	96 %	98 %	99 %	98 %
Response-rate from Heads	84 %	96 %	87 %	96 %

* less than 1%

— none

(Source: Petch, J. A. *After G.C.E.*. Northern Universities' Joint Matriculation Board, Occasional Publications No. 4, 1957).

The differences between the two types of school are generally small, and probably reflect differences in orientation between the extended and the grammar school courses. One may still doubt whether the two groups compete on equal terms within particular occupations;[1] but with two provisos, it is likely that they compete on equal terms for entry to all groups of occupations. The provisos are (a) that banking, accountancy and law are high-status occupations which receive a rather greater proportion of grammar than modern school children; and (b) that, among the girls, the closer linkage of the grammar schools to full-time further education would probably make the competition appear less equal if one studied the children's occupations several years later.

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[1] Some writers have deduced from M. D. Wilson's study (op. cit.) a lowering of occupational aspirations shortly after allocation to a modern school.

The study of their consequences and development suggested that the extended courses were filling three main social functions. Firstly, they helped to increase the supply of trained manpower. The output of children with the minimum qualifications for professional and skilled clerical occupations has been small. In Birmingham, the supply was increased by only one or two per cent in 1957, although this figure was expected to exceed 5% in 1960.[2] Their principal contribution lies elsewhere: the Chief Education Officer for Leeds has recently claimed that "these courses will make an outstanding contribution to the general and technical education of the technicians and craftsmen so urgently required to satisfy our economic needs".[3] In addition to the direct vocational training given, the courses will probably reduce the wastage of technical trainees, both by motivating candidates more strongly towards success, and by enabling them to train through day-classes rather than evening-classes, which have higher failure-rates.[4] In this way, the courses function to provide a further opportunity for advanced training to children who were not allocated to grammar schools; although they may often have been established in the areas where opportunities were already most plentiful. If they are developing mainly in areas with more limited educational opportunities, the courses strengthen the link between achievement in school and occupational status. In this case, since achievement is highly correlated with both home background and innate ability,[5] the courses would function to strengthen slightly the dependence of occupational status upon innate ability and parental attitudes toward education.

The second function of the courses is to enable the schools to move from a position of low status and low morale to one of high status and high morale, at least in the eyes of teachers, parents and children.[1] The courses have done much to resolve the value-conflict between middle-class teachers and working class children, and to channel the turbulence associated with adolescence.[2] For this reason, one of the Heads wondered whether the courses' growth should be interpreted as a form of self-protection by the schools, in view of the impending decision to raise the minimum school-leaving age. Although the introduction of the courses has often been difficult, no case of complete failure has ever been reported; and one is led to infer that the courses have proved successful in a wide variety of social settings. Only one education authority has refused to initiate any such courses.

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[1] As Dr. Banks (op. cit.) does in relation to technical posts. In Ch. 12 she found limited evidence that the technical posts attracting grammar school boys since the war were those with the best financial prospects as well as the greatest social prestige; and alongside the influx of modern school boys into the technical colleges, Cotgrove noted an exodus of grammar school boys, and a decline in the relative demand for the more advanced courses offered by the colleges – Cotgrove, S.F. *Technical education and social change.* London: Allen & Unwin, 1958.

[2] Russell, E. L. "The organisation of secondary education: Birmingham". *Education,* 5/12/58.

[3] Quoted in *Education,* 14/2/58.

[4] White Paper on *Technical Education* Cmd. 9703; *Times educ. supp.* editorial, 22/11/57, on the "astonishing and deplorable failure rates" in technical exams; Cotgrove, op. cit.

[5] Halsey, A. H. "Genetics, social structure and intelligence". *Brit. J. Sociol.* 9 (1), 1958; Conway, J. "The inheritance of intelligence and its social implications". *Brit. J. Stat. Psychol.* 11 (2), 1958; symposium by Halsey, Conway & Burt, C. on "Class differences in general intelligence". *Brit. J. Stat. Psychol.* 12 (1), 1959.

The third main function of the courses has been to buttress the tripartite system of secondary education. They have reduced the disparity between modern and other types of secondary school in the opportunities to enter high-status occupations. The modern schools are to some extent encroaching upon the manifest functions of the technical and grammar schools; such overlapping is a necessary condition of equality of opportunity. In justification of this overlap, the claim is sometimes made that the slower pace of the modern school would be more suitable for many of those who at present find their way into the lower streams of the grammar schools. The extended courses meet some of the arguments advanced in favour of the comprehensive school, and may have contributed to the survival of the tripartite system. Labour Party support for comprehensive schools seems to have two main foundations: the desire to educate in the same school children of all levels of ability and from all social backgrounds; and the desire to provide equality of opportunity. Many hold that the second aim is implied by the first, and cannot be achieved in isolation from it. In their view, the success of the extended courses does not weaken, and may indeed strengthen, the case for a fully comprehensive system.

While it is true that strict equality of opportunity implies minimising segregation in the educational system, it is possible to move towards such equality without abandoning the tripartite system; this has been the achievement of the extended courses. If many Socialists have favoured the comprehensive school only as a means to equalise opportunities, and now withdraw their support, the courses will have contributed to the survival, for better or worse, of the tripartite system, as well as functioning to meet the demand for more trained manpower and to raise the prestige of the secondary modern schools.

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[1] No inference can be made of a rise in the modern schools' prestige in the eyes of the "general public". It was interesting to note that when Heads were asked whether their extended course children were comparable with the children in grammar schools, many Heads automatically compared their children with the *upper* streams of the grammar school, although these were known to have rather higher measured intelligence. If this is the comparison implicitly made by most parents, few modern schools can expect to achieve equal status in the near future.

On the declining passions aroused by the 11+ results, see *Times educ. supp.* 30/11/56, p. 1403. Also Smedley, W. R. "The organisation of secondary education: Bournemouth". *Education*, 19/12/58.

[2] See the unusual and perceptive article, "Secondary modern". *Times educ. supp.* 25/4/58, p. 641.

The Coming Shape of Higher Education in The United States

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EDUCATION beyond the secondary school – "higher education" – has become a major social problem in the United States in the middle of the twentieth century. The problem results from high birth rate, changing occupational structure, increasing career interest in obtaining a college education, and heightened concern over talent and trained manpower stemming from internationally competitive effort in science and technology. The greater numbers of potential students thrown up by the high birth rate together with the increased career interest is the most tangible and compelling part of the problem. Each year since 1954 has set a new record in college enrollment (over 3,600,000 in 1960) and the recent increases are but ripples in advance of large waves. A flood will flow around the gates of the colleges about 1965; the doubling and tripling of enrollments will be common in public (tax-supported) colleges and universities between 1960 and 1975. Increases of this magnitude would be problem enough even if established programs were thought adequate and the new students simply poured into the old bottles of the curriculum. But the ever accelerating change in science and technology, the constant expansion of knowledge, and the insatiable demand of industry for trained men press for an extensive reshaping of college programs and staffs. These trends threaten further to erode the minor place now occupied by liberal education, making anxious and contentious the academic men, primarily in the humanities, who see themselves as defenders of the intellect.

Stirred by the unprecedented demand and national need, educators and laymen are now widely debating the shape and content, the quantity and the quality, of higher education. The argument often centers on admissions policy. One solution says: Now is the time for colleges in the United States to select more carefully, admitting only the brighter prospects – say the upper one-fourth or one-third – and training them up to the highest quality. The other major approach is to expand entry until a place is provided for everyone who seeks admission and train at many levels of ability. These solutions offer opposite systems: selective versus universal higher education. I propose here to review the social forces and institutional trends that press for each of these solutions and then to estimate the resulting structure.

An easy prediction is that the outcome will be a hodgepodge. "Americans," like Englishmen, have become versed in muddling through, and most major American institutions are diffusely adaptive. But what kind of mixture will obtain and what will be the controlling trends? Quantity and quality do not rest easily together, as some educational diplomats would have us believe; new functions affect the capacity of a system to perform traditional tasks[1]; and, in a decentralized system, institutional drift rather than purpose may largely determine the future, leading to unanticipated but desired gains or to losses bemoaned by all. It is not enough to say simply that higher education in the United States is diversifying. We need to dissect the diversity and estimate the pattern to which it tends.

The Opening Door

Widespread forces in the United States urge an open door to education beyond the secondary school. Foremost is the changing nature of work. The advanced stages of industrialization change occupations in ways that bring the higher elements of the educational system into the economic foundations of society. The connection between education and occupation tightens as jobs are upgraded in skill, new technical positions created, the professions expanded, and the upper white collar segment made the fastest growing element in the occupational structure. Youth must study in college to qualify for work – to qualify for not only the fields of highest status such as medicine and law, but to prepare for positions of modest status, such as engineering, teaching, and social work, and now for even such positions as dental assistant and electronic technician. Technology and bureaucratic organization call for trained men, and as the colleges become the training ground for an array of occupations, the pressure is to admit and train a greater percentage of the graduates of the secondary schools.

The growing tendency to define trained men as a national asset also encourages wider admission. The national definition emphasizes multiple levels of ability – the engineering aide and the engineer as well as the scientist. The "full utilization of human resources" can only mean that many more of the young should go as far up the educational ladder as they can climb and hence that the door to college should swing open for a larger share.

These technological and national pressures hook into cultural orientations that also encourage broad college admission. The ethic of individual achievement – that one wins his way to success – has deep roots in the traditions of the country. This ethic acquires further strength as ability and expertise come to predominate over ties of friendship and other non-universal criteria in personnel selection and promotion. The achievement orientation excites large numbers of the young to travel the roads available for reaching higher status and material success. That these roads increasingly pass through higher education rather than around it is known by increasing numbers of the young and their advisors. This widespread interest in the means of career achievement brings political pressures as well as applicants; because of this, and for other reasons, the separate state legislatures have long seen to it that the state university and other public colleges open their doors to the high school graduate who claims he is college material. In the 1960 national election, more than before, the Democratic and Republican parties both showed a strong vote-getting interest in education, not the least because of parental concern over the career opportunities of their children.

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[1] A. H. Halsey, "The Changing Functions of Universities in Advanced Societies," *Harvard Educational Review*, Vol. 30 (Spring, 1960), pp. 118–127.

Along with the ethic of individual achievement, the country has held strongly to the habit of interpreting democracy as equal treatment and equal share. "Equality of opportunity" is fundamental democratic doctrine; and, in the most popular reading, this equality in higher education is taken to mean the right of all to enter. This sentiment confuses the equalizing of opportunity for persons of all race, color, creed and income – selection by talent alone – with the sheer extending of opportunity to more persons. The critical difference between these two aspects of opportunity has been cogently reviewed and set forth,[1] but this "theoretical" distinction has little dented the attitudes and pronouncements of state legislators, educators, and presidential commissions on education. Americans by and large believe and are now continually reminded that equality means a place for all in college, and this interpretation is a potent force in promoting the open door to higher education.

Lastly, a rising standard of living places the financial means of sending sons and daughters to college in the hands of larger numbers of families. A larger share of the population can afford college, the inexpensive state college or university if not the high-cost private college.

One result of these pressures for the open door has been the spread of new types of colleges as well as the expansion of some of the colleges of the older forms. The new types have been mainly tax-supported, generous in admission, and increasingly comprehensive in orientation and internal structure. They are service enterprises, multi-purpose rather than singularly committed. At the turn of the century, the private liberal arts college, the private university, and the state university were the principal types, supplemented by normal schools then emerging for the preparation of elementary teachers. Since 1900, the state universities have grown much larger and stronger, and the four-year teachers college, the four-year state college and the two-year junior college have emerged as types important numerically. The old normal school and the later teachers college – both single-mindedly devoted to teacher training – have persistently tended to evolve into comprehensive institutions. A common evolution has been from normal school to teachers college to state college, where a liberal arts program is combined with numerous occupational curricula; and then still later, or soon to come, the state college assumes the functions and name of a state university. The state colleges have had low admission requirements, taking students a cut or two down from the state university and quite below the better private colleges.

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[1] Earnest Van Den Haag, *Education as an Industry* (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1956), pp. 39–40.

The public two-year college is the most interesting of all the twentieth-century institutions in reflecting the trend to the open door. This category includes university extension centers and technical schools, but the most common form is the junior college controlled by local school authorities or a local board of its own. The public junior college most fully answers the plea that every high school graduate should be allowed further education at public expense; it is free or largely so in most states. It admits all comers. It offers freshman and sophomore courses for students hoping to transfer to senior colleges and universities, as well as terminal two-year curricula of vocational and business subjects, and an array of adult education courses. It is the type of college most responsive to mass pressure and most fully reflecting an open-door policy.[1]

The growth of new kinds of colleges as well as expansion in number of the older types has produced by 1960 a population of 1,975 colleges compared with about 975 in 1900. There are now 143 universities, 764 liberal arts colleges, 198 teachers colleges, 50 technological schools, 524 junior colleges, and 296 assorted theological schools, art schools, and detached professional schools – *all* giving work creditable toward a bachelor's or higher degree. In addition, there are an unknown number of 2- and 3-year semiprofessional schools and technical institutes that are entirely devoted to preparing students for immediate employment, without benefit of a bachelor's degree.[2] The organizations called by the name college or university in the United States vary enormously in caliber of faculty, ability of students, type of curriculum, and form of administrative control. They vary in size from several hundred to over 40,000 students. As visitors from abroad often note in dismay, not even the nomenclature is standardized: Some four-year colleges call themselves a university, and some universities have the title of college; "city college" may refer to a four-year college with one of the most selective student bodies in the nation or to a junior college that is entirely unselective. "Diversity" is the word of the day, especially in the public realm, and we may expect increasing heterogeneity among and within the growing aggregation. Many officials and laymen hope that the diversity will provide places for increasing proportions of the young, themselves diverse in ability and skill, interest and motivation, achievement and promise.

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[1] Burton R. Clark, *The Open Door College: A Case Study* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1960

[2] *Higher Education*, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education Vol. XVII (January, 1961), p. 18.

The Closing Door

We now consider the opposite trend. The move for more rigorous and limited selection of college students stems from pressures and interests of a less general nature than those behind the universalizing of admission. But the move is strong nevertheless, based on entrenched positions and linked to interests of academic men and colleges. Many colleges, private and public, are in the process of becoming more selective. The extreme of this increasing selectivity is found in the already-leading private colleges and universities, the so-called Ivy League colleges of Harvard, Yale and Princeton, and other elite colleges located principally along the Eastern seaboard. Many of these colleges have moved in the last quarter of a century from gentlemenly involvement to a serious academic and intellectual tone in the student body. Their faculties have long been outstanding, but only recently have their student bodies been raised to a high level of ability and commitment. Some state universities and colleges, too, have made efforts recently – eliminating remedial courses, requiring better high school preparation, using entrance tests for the first time, requiring higher test scores – that have the effect of excluding students they formerly would have admitted.

Why the increasing selectivity in some colleges? First, because it is now possible; second, because it is desired. Sharp selection was not possible for even prestigeful colleges in the past, other than in a few special years, for the hands of the colleges were tied by limited demand. Princeton officials report that from 1921 to 1941 the university essentially had no choice, never refusing admission "to boys with good character testimonials and adequate scholastic preparation."[1] Princeton had 925 applicants for 644 openings in 1941, or a ratio of 1.4 : 1; in 1959, it had 3,213 applications for 757 seats – or 4.2 : 1. Amherst College went from 371 applicants for 232 openings (1.6 : 1) in 1941 to being able to choose among 1,677 applicants for 259 vacancies (6.5 : 1) in 1959.[2] The great increase in demand to enter college means that many colleges are moving into a relatively permanent condition of student glut, a situation that renders them less dependent on traditional constituencies. The colleges of modest to high reputation are already in or are edging into an economy of abundance that permits selection for high aptitude and serious attitude, and also a stiffening of graduation requirements. It is now *possible* to be academically more severe.

It is not only possible but fervently desired by college staffs. There are many rewards for gaining students of higher quality. The institution itself gains in self-respect and prestige, as does the individual professor. The institution strengthens its competitive position, and very likely enters into a beneficial cycle of attractiveness. Better students help a college to attract better faculty, which together give the college a better name, which then serves to attract

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[1] W. Jacobs, "Need More Diversity," *Princeton Alumni Weekly*, (February 7, 1958), p. 11.

[2] L. Bloomgarden, "Our Changing Elite Colleges," *Commentary* (February, 1960), p. 151.

good students – and so on around the linkage of student body, faculty, and reputation. This linkage, in a situation of colleges independently drawing students out of a free market, makes the search for organizational status into a persistent pressure for selectivity. Leading private colleges and universities wish to be ever more selective; good state universities strive to catch up to the Ivy League; mediocre universities want to be first-rate universities; state colleges strain to acquire the faculties, students, and programs that will give them reason to be called state universities. The general movement is upward in urge, virtually no one wants to be defined as the bottom of the heap.[1] This institutional urge is a powerful force; with it, paradoxically, mass education in the system as a whole encourages greater selectivity and related elitism in important segments of the system.

The climate of opinion in the country after Sputnik also includes the outlook that bright students should receive the best possible education, and this public conception supports the upgrading efforts of colleges. The institutions that are seeking academic firmness through more vigorous selection and retention find new justification in claims of attention to the highly talented.

Resulting Structure

The result of these social forces and institutional urges is, first, more students and more unselective colleges. An increasing percentage of the appropriate age group is in college. For those 18 to 21, the proportion was 1.7 per cent in 1870, 4.0 in 1900, 8.1 in 1920, 15.7 in 1940 and 37.2 in 1960.[2] No stopping point in this trend can be predicted short of near-universal entry. This trend tends to redefine college-going as a right and to pull students of lower social origins into college. It also means many more unqualified persons will participate in college, by traditional standards, since those of low academic aptitude are not screened out at the door. Some sectors of higher education tend toward a sovereignty of the unqualified, with the tone of the student body set by low-ability students. Too, the definition of "college work" or "study" broadens. In the two-year units that will absorb much of the buffeting of the large waves of students, "college" includes one- and two-year terminal programs. Within these programs there is some vocational preparation formerly handled in the high school and some fields never before found in education – auto mechanics and carpentry on the one hand and electronic technician and fashion designer on the other.

Secondly, the country will have many more highly selective colleges than it ever had before, with the selection based largely on ability rather than family status. In the colleges now attaining levels of selectivity never before reached, such as Harvard, Amherst, Radcliffe, Swarthmore, and Reed, the student body is academically brilliant. Some colleges are already so high in average ability they are considering the possibility of stopping and even reversing the move upward. For a few colleges of top national recruitment, the sky is the limit; for nearly all, the future is a seller's market, and very many will use this condition to exact higher "prices" from students.

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[1] Or, as the tail of the snake, in David Riesman's metaphor. See "The Academic Procession," in his *Constraint and Variety in American Education* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1956), pp. 15–52.

[2] *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957* (Bureau of the Census, 1960), pp. 210–211; and *Higher Education,* op. cit., p. 17.

Clearly, there is no monolithic picture; there is neither an over-all massification of higher education about to occur in the United States nor a policy of vigorous selection. Increasing size and the drift toward diversity leads to a much greater division of labor within and among colleges. There will be greater vertical differentiation among colleges in level of function and status, and increased differentiation horizontally, with more variation within each type and level. As major types there will be: (1) *elite colleges*, still largely oriented to the prestigeful liberal arts, for the most part, but a few such as the Massachusett Institute of Technology and the California Institute of Technology with a strong science-technological base; (2) *service institutions* that give bachelor and higher degrees and offer a wide array of undergraduate occupational curricula as well as the liberal arts. These large, comprehensive universities and colleges, running 5,000 to 50,000 students will exist in several tiers, informally differentiated in the country as of various caliber; (3) *screening centers*, two year colleges that classify and distribute students, sending some on to the bachelor-degree centers, keeping others away from the more extended programs,[1] and providing short-term training.

This diversified institution will thus face, simultaneously, even more than now, toward the mass consumer and elite, quality operations. A function of diversity is to allow a system to do many things and hence *be* many things to many men. Any system of higher education that contains two or more tiers operates to a degree in this way. The American system is in the process of carrying diversity to a new extreme; for with many types of public enterprises supplemented by many kinds of private effort, there is a college for any person and any interest. Within this diversity, status functions to protect certain older elite operations. Very high status is assigned to selective centers which are relatively traditional in program, emphasizing the liberal arts in the undergraduate college and the established professions and academic fields in the graduate school.

But within this system that may be all things to all men, certain currents flow more strongly than others. *Vocationalism* is clearly on the increase, promoted by a number of converging influences: (a) more students of lower social origins are going to college and their first need is to acquire the skills that will lead later to the occupational underpinning of higher social status; (b) Big Organization demands more prepared experts; (c) the accelerating development of science and technology again emphasizes specialization; (d) most public (and some private) colleges and universities, who must answer or choose to answer to broad publics, take on a character responsive to the demands of occupational interest groups. The increased vocationalism is paralleled by an ascendance of the public agencies over the private. The tax-supported colleges and universities will continue to grow faster in student numbers, resources, and general influence. The leading private liberal arts colleges will have very high status, but also tend toward marginal influence in educational circles as public institutions establish other models for emulation and take charge of the bulk of educational affairs.

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[1] Burton R. Clark, "The 'Cooling-out Function' in Higher Education," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. LXV (May, 1960), pp. 569–576

If the trend toward the open door is cause and effect of greater vocationalism, then the strain between the open door and selectivity may be seen in large measure as a clash between the ideal of the specialist and the older ideal of the cultivated man. Max Weber maintained over forty years ago that this clash of ideals was at the root of nearly all educational problems and debates in modern society.[1] The trends of modern society put the ideal of the expert in general ascendance, and this ideal is reflected, especially in an egalitarian-minded society, in the tendency to turn colleges and universities into universal training centers – pre-employment arms of the economy.

The academic ability of college students over-all will also probably change, going down as the system entire moves toward broader admission. But this regression toward the mean will clearly have a different outcome than what occurred in the evolution of the American high school several decades ago as it moved from selectivity to universalism. When the secondary school was selective, it was severely academic; as it became comprehensive, it became less academic, adding commercial-vocational tracks to train those not going to college. The high school also spread the ability level in most classrooms, often placing students of high and low ability in the same classes. The tone of the student body became set by the average student who was not strongly oriented to the academic, and the bright, academically-inclined student frequently acquired the status of deviant. This evolution will not be recapitulated in higher education, however, as it takes in larger proportions of the young, for there is a crucial structural difference. Essentially only one kind of high school – the comprehensive type – exists in the United States, and choice of schools is limited if not precluded in most communities. But higher education is exceedingly pluralistic, the choice is great, and students are free to choose. They sort and resort, self-selecting and being officially selected to different types of colleges. Very bright students bunch up at some colleges and here the instructional programs tend ever higher; at the other extreme, in the home-town junior college, students who cannot possibly comprehend elementary college mathematics are given courses adjusted to their ability and to their destiny of early termination and off to the job market. The outcome of the tendency to incorporate the gamut of ability will be enormous differentiation and stratification in student body and program. A universal higher education in the United States will contain a specialization of function and a division of labor differing extensively in scope and degree from its universal secondary education.

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[1] *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, translated by H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946), p. 243.

Locals and Cosmopolitans in American Graduate Schools

by

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ALTHOUGH the American educational ladder proceeds in continuous graded steps from pre-school (kindergarten and nursery school) through the twelve grades of primary and high school and four years of undergraduate college, to post-college "graduate" and "professional" studies, there is a distinct break between high school and college, in terms of social organization. In particular, faculty recruitment and training are very different in the two layers. The elementary and high school classroom teacher typically "majors in education" and has received considerably more training in educational methods and techniques than in the subject matter which will be taught. Conversely, the college and graduate school teacher (save, of course, teachers of education) has almost universally completed a graduate degree (master's or Doctor's) in a particular field (English, Chemistry, French, Economics, etc.) with little or no training in education *per se*. Indeed, if the prospective college or university teacher has had the misfortune to be trained in education it can prove to be a serious obstacle in getting a good job.

These asymmetries provide continuous grist for ideological battles ("Isn't it shameful that high school teachers don't know anything to teach!" "Isn't it shameful that college teachers do not know how to teach!"), but for present purposes they are of interest because for the prospective college or university teacher the structure of the American system generates some important dilemmas.

American college professors belong to two simultaneous occupational worlds. The professor is part of the world of his local institution where specialists in various disciplines collaborate in teaching the young. At the same time he is a member of a national and international professional group, having been trained as a specialist in a particular field, not as a "college professor." In addition, the more renowned the college or university which employs him, the more likely it is that his salary, rank, and future are determined by his standing in his profession, not his prowess in front of a blackboard.[1] Competition for permanent posts in the high prestige universities being considerable, young men are warned that in the better institutions the motto is "Publish or Perish" and in the very best it is "Publish and Perish."

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[1] Cf. Caplow, Theodore and Reece J. McGee. *The Academic Market Place*, (New York: Basic Books, 1958).

To some extent, the two occupational worlds of the college professor place him under cross-pressures. The famous conflict between "teaching" and "research" may be thought of in this way. Professorial time being finite, one is often forced to choose between research activities which are aimed for the eyes of fellow "ologists" throughout the world and teaching and committee work which are appreciated only in the local academy.

David Riesman, Alvin Gouldner and Everett Hughes have suggested that few academics can successfully balance the claims of both worlds and that there is a tendency for us to opt for one or the other. Gouldner, following Merton's phraseology, divides us into Locals and Cosmopolitans while Hughes gives us the choice between "Itinerants" or members of the "Home Guard." Riesman favors the belt plus suspenders formulation, "itinerant cosmopolitans and home guard locals."[1]

Little or nothing has been reported, however, on the development of these orientations or the degree to which graduate training in arts and science is a socialization process in which young men and women are initiated into the professional world. Data from a recent National Opinion Research Center study of arts and science graduate students, however, provide some preliminary evidence. The sample consists of 2,842 graduate students from 25 out of approximately 140 universities (Ph. D. granting institutions, which comprise about fifteen per cent of all American colleges) who filled out a self-administered questionnaire in the fall of 1958. The sample was drawn in such a fashion that every American graduate student had an equal chance of being selected for the study providing that: a) he was in an arts and science field – no students from professional schools such as law, engineering or education were eligible; b) his department offers the Ph. D.; and c) he was registered as a graduate student seeking the Master's or Ph. D. degree in the fall term of 1958.

The measure of the Merton-Gouldner-Hughes-Riesman distinction consists of the following question: "In the long run, would you rather be known and respected (a) throughout the institution where you work or (b) among specialists in your field in different institutions?" The 39 per cent of the sample who checked the first response, we shall call "Locals," and the 61 per cent who checked the second, we shall call "Cosmopolitans," although "locals" and "professionals" are probably better labels.

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[1] David Riesman, *Constraint and Variety in American Education*, Lincoln, Nebraska, University of Nebraska Press, 1956, pp. 26–36; Alvin Gouldner, "Cosmopolitans and Locals: Toward an Analysis of Latent Social Roles," Parts I and II, *Administrative Science Quarterly*, Vol. 2 (1957–58), pp. 282–306, 444–480; Everett C. Hughes, "The Making of a Physician," in *Men and Their Work*, (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1958), pp. 116–130; Robert K. Merton, "Patterns of Influence: Local and Cosmopolitan Influentials," in *Social Theory and Social Structure* (rev. ed.), (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1955), pp. 387–420.

As one would predict, there is a very strong relationship[1] between answers to this question and career preferences. Students were asked whether they preferred college teaching, research, or whether there was another alternative they preferred as a future occupation. Students who preferred undergraduate or graduate teaching, we shall call Teachers. Those who preferred research, we shall call Researchers and those who volunteered some other function (for instance, clinical psychology students who want to do therapy, political scientists who want to become government administrators), we shall call Others. Table 1 shows the relationship between orientation and career preference.

While both locals and cosmopolitans have about the same proportions of "Others," there is a considerable association between orientation and choice between teaching and research, locals being much more likely to prefer teaching and cosmopolitans more likely to choose research. The relationship is exceedingly tenacious and holds under every control which has been applied in the analysis.

Field of study, for example, is strongly related to carreer preference. Thus, ignoring localism and cosmopolitanism, 81 per cent of the Biochemists prefer

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[1] Because the data come from a probability sample, the results are subject to sampling error and thus require tests of statistical significance. Because, however, the two-stage sample is heavily clustered, simple random sampling statistics are inappropriate. In addition, as in most surveys, there is the danger of "hunting" through a large number of insignificant differences until a "significant" one is found, thus negating the protection given by a statistical test. Estimates of the sampling variance for various attributes in the study suggested that the effect of clustering would be compensated for by *doubling* the percentage difference required for significance in standard tables. Using this approximate but conservative procedure, the significance levels for various comparisons in the tables in this paper are as follows: (N.S. = $p > 0.05$; * = $0.05 > p > 0.01$; ** = $0.01 > p$).

Table	*Dependent Attribute*	*Comparison*	*Result*
1.	Per cent Teachers	Locals v. Cosmopolitans	**
	Per cent Researchers	Locals v. Cosmopolitans	**
	Per cent Other	Locals v. Cosmopolitans	N.S.
2.	Per cent Cosmopolitan	Researchers v. Teachers (within field of study)	** for each of the three comparisons
3.	Per cent for Smith	Locals v. Cosmopolitans	**
4.	Per cent Cosmopolitan	Less than 1 v. 1 or 2 more	N.S.
		Member v. Non-Member	N.S.
5.	Per cent Cosmopolitan	University v. Other	*
		Smaller v. Larger	N.S.
6.	Per cent Cosmopolitan	I v. II	N.S.
		II v. III & IV	N.S.
		I v. III & IV	*

Table 1
Local-Cosmopolitan orientation and career preference

Orientation	*Career Preference*			*Total*	*N*
	Teaching	*Research*	*Other*		
Local	51	23	26	100 %	1,059
Cosmopolitan	31	47	22	100 %	1,657
					2,716
			*N.A. on Preference		79
			*N.A. on Orientation		47
					2,842

* N.A. categories are defined residually upwards: that is, there are 47 N.A.'s on Orientation, and of those cases which are *not* N.A. on Orientation, 79 are N.A. on Preference.

research, while only 11 per cent of the students in English do so. Sociology students, incidentally, prefer research in 29 per cent of the cases, about the same as Political Science and Economics but rather less than Anthropology (64 per cent) and Psychology, other than clinical (58 per cent). All disciplines with a majority of researchers were combined into one group (all biological sciences, Chemistry, Physics, Anthropology and Psychology other than clinical); those with a majority of teachers into one group (all the humanities); and those with no majority (Mathematics, Geology, Sociology, Economics and Political Science) into a third group. Clinical psychology had a majority of "Others" (almost all of them students who preferred therapy as a career) and is excluded from the table. Table 2 shows the results.

Table 2
Local-Cosmopolitan orientation and career preference, controlling for field of study

Field	*Orientation*	*Career Preference*			*Total*	*N*
		Teaching	*Research*	*Other*		
Humanities	Local	71	7	22	100 %	409
	Cosmopolitan	55	20	25	100 %	383
Mixed	Local	37	45	18	100 %	312
	Cosmopolitan	22	67	11	100 %	684
Research	Local	44	21	35	100 %	238
Sciences	Cosmopolitan	32	40	28	100 %	416
						2,442
		N.A. on preference or in Clinical Psychology				353
		N.A. on Orientation				47
						2,842

Although the field differences are considerable, within each group localism goes with teaching preference and cosmopolitanism with research preference.

It is clear that localism goes with teaching and cosmopolitanism goes with research in a way which cannot be explained by any intervening variable yet identified. The finding is also intuitively sensible, for in contemporary American academia there is little possibility for publicizing teaching effectiveness beyond the local campus, and scholarly specialization is such that for a research worker, the people who are really interested in his work are likely to be specialists in his area in other schools rather than his local colleagues in other specialties.

This is not all there is to localism and cosmopolitanism, though. The correlation is not perfect, and about a quarter of the locals prefer research while roughly a third of the cosmopolitans prefer teaching. Further insight into these orientations can be gained by considering the answers to a sticky decision the respondents were asked to make. The following question appeared in the schedule:

> You are a full professor in a small but good department. Two men are being considered for a tenure position but only one can be appointed. You will probably be a colleague, for several decades, of the man who is appointed.
>
> SMITH is very well liked by students, faculty and throughout the institution. He is an effective teacher and is extremely well-read, both in his field and in other areas. It is quite clear, however, that he is never going to produce research or a work of scholarship which will make a fundamental contribution to the field.
>
> JONES is known to everyone as a prima donna. He is difficult to get along with, and students complain about his lack of interest in teaching. It is quite clear, however, that in the long run he is destined to be one of the major intellectual figures in the field.
>
> Which man would you vote for when the department makes its recommendation?

The dilemma is partly between research and teaching, but it is also between localism and cosmopolitanism. It is clear that Smith will be easier to get along with on the local scene, but is it equally clear that Jones will bring more cosmopolitan glamour to the school. Table 3 gives the per cent of students who would vote for Smith (the locally oriented man) by career preference and orientation.

It's Smith by a landslide in this sample, if not in academic reality, but career preference and orientation both affect the vote. Among locals and among cosmopolitans, teachers are most likely to back Smith and researchers least. At the same time, the cosmopolitan teacher is somewhat less in favor of Smith, and the local researcher has considerably more enthusiasm for Smith than cosmopolitans of the same research persuasion. It would appear that the cosmopolitan is a person who is willing to put up with a less satisfying inter-personal situation in order to gain extra-mural prestige, and the local is a person who is unwilling to pay this price.

This suggests that one factor in these orientations is a persons' need for gratification in immediate face-to-face situations. The cosmopolitan may be something of an emotional camel, who can go for some time without satisfying interaction while the local is more dependent on the rewards from his daily

Table 3

Local-Cosmopolitan orientation and vote for Smith, controlling for career preference

(Per cent for Smith)

Career Preference	*Orientation*	
	Local	*Cosmopolitan*
Teaching	92 (532)	82 (518)
Other	86 (276)	76 (366)
Research	78 (245)	65 (767)

	N = 2,704
N.A. on Smith or Career Preference	91
N.A. on Orientation	47
	2,842

round of departmental activities. A crude test of this idea is given by the students' answers to the following question: "How important is it for you to be with people?" Respondents were asked to check one of the following alternatives: "I would feel uncomfortable if I spent a whole day without talking to somebody"; "I wouldn't mind spending a day or two occasionally without talking to somebody"; and "I could go for a long time without talking to anybody and not feel uncomfortable." If answers to this question are considered as a measure of the students' need for social interaction, the hunch is that cosmopolitans are likely to report lower needs.

At the same time this variable is examined, let us also look at the students' reported level of interaction in graduate school. They were asked, "In terms of informal contacts outside the classroom, do the graduate students in your department... form one large group, form several groups, or have few or no contacts outside the classroom?" Those who reported that groups exist were then asked, "Do you belong to such a group?" We will consider only students who report that groups exist, since it hardly seems fair to ask whether one belongs to a group where there are no groups to belong to.

Table 4 shows the per cent cosmopolitan by tolerance for not seeing people (dichotomized as the first versus the second and third alternatives) and group membership, controlling for carreer preference.

The differences are hardly striking, but in each comparison, the longer the student thinks he can go without seeing people, the more likely he is to be a cosmopolitan. However, there is no consistent difference in actual group membership. This suggests that the distinction is not between gregariousness and isolation; rather, it is in the degree to which one is dependent on one's immediate

Table 4

Local-Cosmopolitan orientation, tolerance for not seeing people, and group membership, controlling for Career Preference

(Per cent Cosmopolitan)

Career Preference	*Tolerance*	*Membership in Student Groups*	
		No	*Yes*
Teaching	Less than 1 day	44 (68)	46 (199)
	1 or more days	54 (134)	54 (255)
Other	Less than 1 day	53 (36)	56 (105)
	1 or more days	60 (75)	59 (158)
Research	Less than 1 day	72 (57)	74 (196)
	1 or more days	77 (141)	79 (346)

	N = 1,770
N.A. on tolerance or membership or report no groups	1,025
N.A. on Orientation	47
	2,842

social system for gratification. In short, just as sociologists have noted a pattern of "deferred gratification,"[1] the cosmopolitan is perhaps characterized by a pattern of "dispersed gratification," in which postcards requesting reprints provide a substitute for sociability in the local milieu.

One should not make too much of these small differences, and this personality characteristic is only one of a number of variables which relate to localism-cosmopolitanism, independent of career preference. Following up the lead of Table 4 which suggested that *degrees* of social involvement are not a variable, one can also consider some *kinds* of social involvement.

Just as cosmopolitan and local orientations reflect interest in different social structures, the data suggest that these orientations are affected by the social structures which the students have experienced. Going back in the students' life histories, one finds that orientations are slightly associated with the kind of city in which the students grew up and the kind of undergraduate institution they attended.

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[1] Louis Schneider and Sverre Lysgaard, "The Deferred Gratification Pattern: A Preliminary Study," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 18, No. 2 (1953), pp. 142–148.

Students were asked, "Which of the following best describes the community or communties in which you lived before you graduated from high school?" and given the alternatives: farm, small town (under 25,000 population); medium sized town (25,000 to 100,000 population); small city (100,000 to 250,000 population); suburb of a large metropolis and large metropolis. Because multiple answers were allowed, students were coded by the largest city reported. When they are divided into those reporting only the first three (farm, small town and medium sized town) versus those reporting the last three (small city, suburb and metropolis), there is a tendency for those from smaller towns to be more local.

Because American universities whose graduate faculties are heavily involved in research, undoubtedly have more cosmopolitans than do four year colleges, one wonders whether exposure to different types of undergraduate school is related to localism. When we compare students who attended a university with those who attended other types of undergraduate institutions, it does turn out that university trained graduate students are a little more cosmopolitan.

Table 5 shows the simultaneous effect of home town and undergraduate institution.

Table 5

Local Cosmopolitan Orientation, size of Home Town, and Undergraduate Institution, Controlling for Career Preference

(Per cent Cosmopolitan)

Career Preference	*Undergraduate Institution*	*Size of Home Town*	
		Larger	*Smaller*
Teaching	University	55 (274)	51 (189)
	Other	51 (278)	42 (309)
Other	University	61 (191)	58 (117)
	Other	58 (183)	49 (150)
Research	University	81 (281)	78 (223)
	Other	75 (277)	67 (231)

	N = 2,703
N.A. on Career Preference, Home Town or Undergraduate Institution	92
N.A. on Orientation	47
	2,842

Within each career preference group, both variables show small but consistent differences. In each comparison, those who grew up in larger cities are more cosmopolitan and those who did their undergraduate work in a university are more cosmopolitan. Thus, it would seem that exposure to more cosmopolitan social structures leads to more cosmopolitanism in the professional world.

One wonders whether exposure to graduate school itself leads to greater cosmopolitanism and whether part of the socialization process in graduate schools lies in introducing the neophyte scholar to the world of professionalism. While we have no panel data on our subjects, we can contrast students at different stages of study. If cosmopolitanism increases during graduate training, we would expect to find that the advanced student is more cosmopolitan than the beginner, regardless of his career preference.

In Table 6, the students are divided into those in the first year of graduate school versus those in advanced years. The advanced students are divided into Master's and Ph. D. candidates, providing a three-step scale of advancement in graduate training.

Table 6

Local-Cosmopolitan Orientation and Stage of Study, controlling for Career Preference

(Per cent Cosmopolitan)

Career Preference	*Stage of Study*		
		Advanced	
	First Year Students	*Master's Candidates*	*Ph. D. Candidates*
Teaching	43 (307)	52 (231)	52 (502)
Other	57 (220)	52 (198)	63 (213)
Research	70 (269)	74 (213)	80 (522)

	N = 2,675
N.A. on Stage or Career Preference	120
N.A. on Orientation	47
	2,842

Table 6 does give slight support to the idea of increased cosmopolitanism. Among researchers there is a rather solid increase, and among teachers, advanced students are slightly more cosmopolitan. Among others, however, the pattern is spotty. Such results, of course, could arise from differential drop-out rates for locals and cosmopolitans. We shall not present the evidence in detail here, but we did conduct a follow-up study one year later for other purposes and found no association between localism-cosmopolitanism and drop-out.

While dynamic interpretations of cross-sectional data are always doubtful, the materials suggest that for researchers, and perhaps for teachers and others, exposure to graduate school does lead to more cosmopolitanism.

In sum, although the associations are moderate at best, there is a suggestion that exposure to universities, both as an undergraduate and as a graduate student, along with exposure to larger cities, facilitates the growth of cosmopolitanism. Perhaps learning that there are on-going social worlds beyond the face-to-face network of personal relations in the small town or small college makes the student more sensitive to the possible rewards from the tangible, but dispersed, social world of professional life.

When all three of the characteristics are considered simultaneously, it is seen that they tend to have an additive effect. Generally speaking, undergraduate institution, exposure to grade school, and size of home town contribute

Table 7

Local-Cosmopolitan Orientation, exposure to Graduate School, Undergraduate Institution, and Home Town, controlling for Career Preference

(Per cent Cosmopolitan)

Undergraduate Institution	*Size of Home Town*	*Year of Graduate School Completed*	*Career Preference*					
			Teaching		*Other*		*Research*	
University	Larger	0	55	(76)	68	(68)	82	(74)
		1 or more	55	(194)	57	(119)	80	(206)
	Smaller	0	42	(48)	54	(41)	76	(62)
		1 or more	55	(137)	61	(76)	79	(158)
Other	Larger	0	43	(91)	59	(56)	62	(68)
		1 or more	55	(184)	60	(121)	80	(205)
	Smaller	0	34	(90)	44	(55)	56	(64)
		1 or more	45	(215)	53	(93)	73	(162)

	N = 2,663
N.A. on Career Preference, Stage, Home Town, or Undergraduate Institution	132
N.A. on Orientation	47
	2,842

independently toward increased cosmopolitanism regardless of career preference. There is, however, an interesting exception. For each of the three characteristics, and for each career preference, a given characteristic does not lead to increased cosmopolitanism among students who have been exposed to the other two. Thus, advanced students are more cosmopolitan than beginners, except for those who did their undergraduate work at a university and also come from a larger city; students from larger cities are more cosmopolitan, except among advanced students who did their undergraduate work at a university; and students who did their undergraduate work in a university are more cosmopolitan, except for those from large cities who are now advanced graduate students.

One can see the same pattern more directly by forming an index from the total number of positive characteristics; first year students from small towns who did their undergraduate study outside of a university scoring zero, advanced students from larger cities who did their undergraduate work in a university scoring three.

Table 8

Cosmopolitanism and Index of exposure to Cosmopolitan environments, controlling for Career Preference

(Per cent Cosmopolitan)

Index	*Career Preference*		
	Teaching	*Other*	*Research*
3	55 (194)	57 (119)	80 (206)
2	55 (397)	62 (265)	80 (437)
1	44 (354)	55 (190)	71 (292)
0	34 (90)	44 (55)	56 (64)

	N = 2,663
N.A. on Career Preference, Stage, Home Town or Undergraduate Institution	132
N.A. on Orientation	47
	2,842

In each career preference group, there is a regular increase in cosmopolitanism as the index increases from zero to two. Between two and three, however, there is no difference. What this all means, of course, is unknown. One line of speculation would be that localism – orientation to the people in one's own territorial unit, is the "natural" orientation, and that unless one is exposed to cosmopolitan social structures, one is rather unlikely to put one's emotional eggs in such an unnatural basket as persons in the same occupation scattered over the globe. Once, however, the point has been made by exposure to one or two non-local systems, additional exposures do not have a cumulative effect.

From this point of view, one is led to a less ambitious conception of the socializing effects of graduate study. Graduate study in American universities does appear to have the effect of increasing commitment to the professional world as opposed to the local institutional world, but this effect is apparently limited to those students who have not already been touched by the socializing effects of exposure to cosmopolitan life as a university undergraduate or by residence in a larger community. If so, it is experience in a particular type of social structure which affects these orientations, not any special process of value internalization in the graduate school.

On the basis of these findings we would draw the following inferences:

1. Local-cosmopolitan orientations do not develop entirely during the academic's working career, but are present during his student days.
2. Differences in orientation are strongly related to preferences for research or teaching. Thus, to a degree the teacher and researcher are aiming for approval in different social worlds.
3. The cosmopolitan student, while no less sociable than his local peers, is perhaps less dependent upon gratifications from the immediate social environment.
4. Exposure to cosmopolitan environments facilitates cosmopolitanism.
5. Exposure to graduate school itself facilitates cosmopolitanism, provided that that the student has not already been thoroughly exposed.

The student Population of a Southeast Asian University: an Indonesian Example

by

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UNIVERSITIES in the newly independent countries of Asia and Africa are in many ways excellent units for sociological analysis. This is particularly true in countries like Indonesia, Ceylon, Ghana and Burma where one or two high-prestige universities virtually monopolize the recruitment of select youth into the highest levels of the educational system. From such a position of advantage the university has assumed and still assumes great importance in terms of the recruitment of potential elites. Thus, the university in this context is crucially and comprehensively representative; that is, its students are drawn from all principal age, ethnic, economic, religious, sex and social groups and that these are the recruits who will become members of a technical, political or administrative elite.

In Indonesia during the first dozen years of independence, two universities have dominated the educational scene: the University of Indonesia in Djakarta (which until 1959 also included the Technical Institute at Bandung) and Gadjah Mada University in Jogjakarta. In the past two years Airlangga University in Surabaya has also acquired considerable prestige, but it will not become a full-fledged institution of high status until additional faculties (engineering, social sciences, etc.) are established. Of these three universities Gadjah Mada was selected as being the most appropriate for the study of recruitment in as much as the data reveals[1] it to be the most "national" in terms of its student composition. The University of Indonesia was less suitable due to the large number of Chinese (some 10%) students enrolled during past years.[2]

Gadjah Mada University is a part of a national system of higher education which is formally under the control of the Department (Ministry) of Education in Djakarta. In practice, however, it has had a considerable degree of autonomy though in part this has depended upon considerable apathy at the central levels of government. During the past two years the university has been confronted with a vigorous minister of education and has appeared to respond in some measure to state directives. The Department of Education beginning in late 1960 established a system by which, on paper at least, it can regulate the number (but not the quality) of students entering any university faculty (college). But in as much as there are no national matriculation examinations and in as much as each faculty of the university has its own distinctive admission procedures, formal control of enrollment is virtually impossible. The lack of any reliable and uniform instruments of selection and the association of restriction of entry with political issues[1] in ethnically heterogeneous Indonesia, seriously handicaps planned university growth. Gadjah Mada University thus does not in any operational sense "recruit" students. Secondary school leavers with valid certificates from any of the three academic streams (literature, economics and science) cannot be debarred from admission. Each faculty determines in a very ambiguous way the maximum number of new students it can accept and hopes that the numbers game will not engulf them. However, many of the faculties such as economics, law and engineering have burgeoning enrollments out of all proportion to the educational resources necessary to handle them, to the professional manpower needs of the nation, and to the abilities of occupations to absorb them. Thus the term university "recruitment" is somewhat of a misnomer, and it is used here merely to refer to the ethnic, social, sex and religious composition, and the geographic origin of these students who in various ways find admittance to Gadjah Mada. In such an Indonesian context the term in no way applies to any purposeful selection based, in Parson's terms,[2] upon readily discernible ascriptive or universalistic criteria. The relevant question in this paper, then, is *who* are the students that have been recruited or attracted, not so much how or why they have been.

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[1] The data and information presented in this paper were collected by the author during residence in Indonesia, 1956–1958 and 1960. They were drawn almost entirely from unpublished sources.

[2] Estimates made from figures given by the Chinese Student Association, University of Indonesia, Djakarta, 1958.

During the first decade of Indonesian independence, competent students seeking higher education within their own country naturally sought to be enrolled in one of the two high-prestige universities. Gadjah Mada University with a less lengthy tradition than its counterpart in Djakarta nevertheless attracted a large number of students. The university was established during the revolution of 1947 and many of its students, staff and teachers participated in the fighting against the Dutch. For a time the city of Jogjakarta in which the university is situated was the capital of the revolutionary Indonesian republic. There has arisen, therefore, a rather high emotional regard for Gadjah Mada in terms of its symbolic value to the nation as one of the most tangible achievements of the revolutionary struggle.[1] It has been a popular university among Java and non-Java peoples. During the period 1952 through June, 1960, Gadjah Mada University graduated 858 students who had earned the doktorandus degree (master's) or above. The geographic origin in terms of region of these students was as follows:

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[1] Public controversies concerning minority groups and education in Southeast Asia have largely centered upon the language problem. However, one of the significant underlying difficulties is seldom discussed and has yet to be researched. It concerns the relatively high proportion of youth from minorities enrolled in universities and their reputation as better academic achievers than youth from majority elites. Such minorities would include the Karens and Indians in Burma, the Chinese in Thailand, the "burghers" in Ceylon, the Bataks and Chinese in Indonesia, and other Christians in all these countries. It is felt by the majority elite (Sinhalese, Thai, Burmese and Javanese) that standardized entrance examinations would disadvantage their youth in terms of competition with minority counterparts.

[2] Talcott Parsons, *The Social System* (Glencoe: Free Press, 1951), pp. 88–96.

Table A (Geographic Origin)

	Number of Graduates	*% of Total*
Java	711	82.86
Sumatra	108	12.58
Kalimantan (Indonesian Borneo)	7	0.81
Bali	8	0.93
Celebes	17	1.98
Other eastern islands	7	0.81
Total	858	99.97

From the above table the domination of Java is clearly apparent and reasonably follows from the fact that on this island resides 75% of the total Indonesian population of about 85,000,000. Java students represented 83% of the total graduating with higher degrees; Sumatra represents 12½% of the total and all other islands 4½%. The figure of 17% recruited from outside Java is, however, significant when one looks at a map of Indonesia. A journey from the city of Medan in North Sumatra to Jogjakarta in Central Java involves 1800 miles via ship and train. Bali is 600 miles away and travel from many of the other outer islands necessitates week-long sea voyages. Thus, Gadjah Mada University from its inception has always attracted students from all of the major Indonesian Islands. Students from the outer island are highly select recruits in terms of origins and ability in as much as they were drawn almost exclusively from the upper social and economic groups. They have had financial resources to maintain themselves for long periods away from home. This 17% had to seek higher education in Java, for during the first six years of independence there were not adequate university facilities in the outer islands with the single exception of

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[1] W. T. Thomas, "The University and National Revival", *Indonesie*, vol. 5 (1951/1952), pp. 342–351.

Hasanuddin University in Makassar. It must also be noted that many outer island students received their secondary school education in Java, and it was natural for them to continue their higher training there.

In August, 1960 the geographic origin of all enrolled students at Gadjah Mada University was as follows:

Table B (Geographic origin)

	Number of Enrolled Students	*% of Total*
Java	9592	80.52
Sumatra	763	13.08
Kalimantan	178	1.51
Celebes	186	1.57
Foreign Students	7	.05
Bali and other eastern islands	383	3.24
Total:	11788	99.97

Java represents 81% of the total, Sumatra 13% and all the other eastern islands 6%. These percentages are almost identical to those in Table A but they indicate a large increase in proportion of the number of non-Java students. Total enrollment at Gadjah Mada has grown from 3,182 to its present figure of almost 12,000. Though there has been a far greater percentage increase in the number of Java students in senior (academic) high schools over the past years compared to that in the outer islands, the non-Java proportions at Gadjah Mada have not declined. Gadjah Mada University is thus still recruiting from a wide geographic (national) base. In a nation that has been torn since independence by regional conflict, this fact can assume great significance if one wishes to examine the acculturation function of universities as it relates to the development of national loyalties among a heterogeneous youth during their long period (5–7 years) of study. Universities which attract large numbers of students from diverse geographic regions within one country at least have the opportunity to undertake such a function. In the case of Gadjah Mada University the end product of the process of functional acculturation – a more Indonesianized, politically loyal graduate – has come about largely in an unintended fashion due to circumstantial factors beyond the purpose of this paper.[1] It is of additional significance that 60% of Gadjah Mada alumni from

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6 In some Southeast Asian universities (*e.g.*, the University of Ceylon and Rangoon University) quite the reverse has occurred – the intensification of differences among members of various ethnic groups.

Sumatra (noted in Table A) found employment with the central government in Java (particularly in Djakarta) and the vast majority of them when interviewed indicated that they did not wish to return to their home island. The incentives for remaining in Java appear to have been mainly economic and social, but there is considerable evidence that a kind of "homogenizing" process is at work in the university environment which has contributed to conditioning Sumatran students and those from other outer islands for much easier assimilation into an "Indonesian" society set within the context of dominant majority cultures (Javanese and Sundanese) on the population center of Java.

The ethnic origin of Gadjah Mada students drawn from the same sample as that in Table A shows:

Table C (Ethnic Origin)

	Number of Graduates (1952–1960)	*% of Total*
Javanese and Sundanese	700	81.58
Sumatrans	108	12.58
Kalimantan groups	7	.81
Celebes groups	17	1.98
Balinese	8	.93
Chinese	11	1.28
Other island groups	7	.81
Total	858	99.97

It will be noted that the above categories are almost identical to those given for geographic origin. The reason for this is that university student records do not contain information on ethnic origin except by inference. By name, Chinese and Balinese students are the easiest to identify. The Bataks from Sumatra also have distinctive names. Javanese and Sundanese can often be identified and distinguished in a similar way. What complicates the use of name as an ethnic determinant is the widespread custom of selecting traditional Islamic names which obliterate ethnic origins. Thus the Coastal Malays, Atjehnese and Minangkabau of Sumatra, the north coast Javanese of Java, and many Malays of the other Indonesian islands with appellations such as Abdul Kadir or Mohammad Ali cannot be ethnically identified by name. A sample of new students entering Gadjah Mada University in 1959 and 1960 was composed as follows:

Table D (Ethic Origin)

	Number of New Students (1959/1960)	*% of Total*
Javanese and Sundanese	1782	73.03
Sumatrans	333	13.64
Kalimantan groups	36	1.47
Celebes groups	39	1.59
Balinese	30	1.22
Chinese	176	7.21
Other island groups	33	1.35
Arab	9	.36
Malay	2	.08
Total:	2440 (from 4500 total population)	99.95

Comparison of *Tables C and D* show an 8% decline in the number of Java entrants, but the Chinese which comprise 7% of the total and are mostly resident in Java must be added bringing both figures into agreement. The Chinese figure as usual in Southeast Asia is high.[1] However, Gadjah Mada is showing a net increase in the number of Chinese while the University of Indonesia is beginning to show a decline. The percentage of Sumatrans and other outer island students are almost identical in both tables. Among the Sumatrans at the university the numerically dominant groups are the Bataks, the Minangkabaus and Malays of South Sumatra, particularly from Lampung. The large number of Bataks may be attributed to their Christian orientations; as an ethnic group they represent perhaps the largest (750,000) single Protestant (Pietist) congregation in Southern Asia.[2] South Sumatrans have traditionally migrated to Java where many of them such as Hatta and Nasution have become prominent. The most Islamicized groups – the Atjehnese, orthodox Minangkabaus and coastal Malay traders – have not in the past sought university education to the same degree as other Sumatrans. Among the other islands, the ardently Christian Ambonese and the highly cultured Balinese send a disproportionately greater number to the university than other outer islanders. The number of

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[1] General references are G. W. Skinner, *Report on the Chinese in Southeast Asia* (Ithaca: Cornell, 1950) and V. Thompson and R. Adloff, *Minority Problems in Southeast Asia* (Stanford: Stanford, 1955).

[2] J. M. Davis, *The Batak Church* (Calcutta: Orient Longmans, 1938).

Javanese and Sundanese attending Gadjah Mada (81% of enrollments) roughly corresponds to their percentage (78%) of the total Indonesian population. It can be seen by referring to all the tables presented thus far that geographic and ethnic origin have a great deal of comparability. Very few Javanese and Sundanese live outside of Java and the same is true for other ethnic groups and their islands.[1] It may be concluded that the relationships of geographic origin, ethnicity and acculturation with political nationalization within a university population perhaps would lend itself to fruitful comparative study particularly in Southeast Asia.

Drawn from the same sample as *Table A* student composition by religion was as follows compared with a new student sample:

Table E (Religion)

	Number of Graduates (1952–1960)	*% of Total*	*New Students (1959/1960)*	*% of Total*
Islam	673	78.43	1844	75.57
Protestant	42	4.89	134	5.49
Catholic	42	4.89	244	10.00
Bali Hindu	8	0.93	30	1.22
Islam Java and Islam Statistik	10	1.17	6	0.24
Buddhism and Confucianism	3	0.34	14	0.57
No religion	5	0.58	3	0.12
No answer	75	8.74	165	6.76
Total:	858	99.97	2440	99.97

Christians show a 5.71% increase; this is due primarily to an increase in the number of Chinese Christian students. The other figures in both tables are approximately the same. What is needed here, however, which these tables do not show, is a break-down of Islam. Geertz in his *Religion of Java* (Free Press, 1960) categorizes Islam in terms of three variants: *abangan* (associated with the village sphere comprising an admixture of pre-Islamic customs and ideas), *santri* (associated with a trading class traditionally orthodox in their beliefs), and the *prijaji* (associated with the bureaucracy and a highly eclectic, intellectual and mystical form of Islam).[2] This division is significant only for Java (particularly East Java); it does not hold for the other islands. *Abangan* is the most concrete variant; however, *santri* and *prijaji* overlap. Many orthodox Muslims are government officials and some Javanese merchants are not orthodox.

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1 The various transmigration schemes have not been very successful; see the *Statistical Pocketbook of Indonesia 1959* (Djakarta: Biro Pusat Statistik, 1959).

2 Note particularly Geertz's discussion *op. cit.*, pp. 121–130, 227–260, 159–161.

It is thus difficult to obtain student responses which would clearly indicate, except by inference and reference to parental occupation and urban or rural residence, the variant of Islam to which he adheres. In any case, what is strikingly obvious at Gadjah Mada is the relative unimportance of Islam among university students, upon curriculum and administration.[1]

Student urban-rural home residence shows the following:

Table F (Urban-Rural Residence)

	Number of Graduates (1952–1960)	*% of Total*	*Number of New Students (1959/1960)*	*% of Total*
Metropolitan Centers	326	37.99	916	37.54
Large Cities	227	26.45	433	17.74
Middle-sized cities	145	16.89	366	15.00
Small towns	123	14.33	429	17.58
Villages	37	4.31	296	12.13
Total:	858	99.97	2440	99.99

Since no Indonesian census has been taken for thirty years urban-rural distinctions are difficult to draw. Here, metropolitan centres refer to those cities in excess of 100,000 people. The line between small towns and villages is vague because of the fact that many small towns and some middle-sized cities are semi-rural in character being composed of a group of contiguous villages or peasant quarters *(kampongs)* within a single urban sphere. The domination of the metropolitan centers is striking in a country where no more than 7,000,000 people live in cities of over 100,000 and where there is only one city of over 1,000,000.[2] The 12% rise (indicated from Table F) in the number of students coming from small towns and villages is not surprising in a country which is 80% "rural" and whose major population center, Java, shows a non-urban density of some 500 people per square mile. The greatest increase is the 7.82% of those coming from villages. Metropolitan centers continue to dominate, but the mass of the countryside and small town dwellers motivated by education-for-all nostrums and confronted with few academic barriers will in another decade be along side their urban brothers.

Data concerning parental (with few exceptions the father's) occupation of university students is complicated by the lack of standard occupational categories. The sample of 858 graduates may be broken down as follows:

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[1] The University of Islam in Jogjakarta has little prestige, and there are very few student Islamic organizations on the Gadjah Mada campus.

[2] *Statistical Pocketbook 1959, op. cit.*, p. 11.

Table G (Parental occupation)

	Number of Fathers of Graduates (1952–1960)	*% of Total*
Pension and lower government	280	32.63
Higher government	95	11.07
Village Officials	35	4.07
Teachers	155	18.06
Police and Military	20	2.33
Professional	35	4.07
Farmers	92	10.72
Self & Privately employed	135	15.73
Artisans & unskilled labor	11	1.28
Total:	858	99.96

A survey taken by Gadjah Mada of parental occupations of 782 students holding the baccalaureate and doktorandus degree as of 1958/1959 shows:

Table H (Parental Occupation)

	Number of Degree Holders	*% of Total*
Central government employees	281	35.93
Higher local officials	35	4.47
Teachers	96	12.27
Police and Military	11	1.40
Self or Privately employed	124	15.85
Farmers, laborers & lower village officials	117	14.96
Artisans, semi-skilled & all others	118	15.08
Total	782	99.96

Table I (Parental Occupation)

	Number of New Students	*% of Total*
Pension and lower government	567	23.23
Higher government	152	6.22
Village officials	112	4.59
Teachers	410	16.80
Police & Military	69	2.82
Professional	61	2.50
Farmers	423	17.33
Self & Privately employed	566	23.19
Artisans & unskilled	80	3.27
Total	2440	99.95

The decline in the bureaucracy is evident from tables G and I. Taking the first three official categories together there has been a drop of 13.73%. The greatest increases have come from farmers (6.61%) and from the self and privately employed group (7.46%).

Enrollments have shown a marked increase in the number of women.[1] Of the first 858 higher graduates from Gadjah Mada 78 (some 9%) were women. The official Gadjah Mada overall enrollment figures as of October, 1960 showed 9308 men and 1931 (17%) women. The 2440 sample of entering students is divided by sex as follows: males 1919 and females 521 or 21% of the total. The rise in female enrollment is of course not surprising in a Southeast Asian country where in the past educational degrees were regarded as having little value for the fairer sex. However, almost 7% of this rise is due to the fact that the formerly advantaged social classes are now sending all their daughters to higher schools where in colonial times and during the first half decade of independence only one or two eldest sons were encouraged to go on to the university.[2]

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[1] A general survey of the position of women may be found in Cora Vreede-De Stuers, *L'Emancipation de la Femme Indonesienne*, (The Hague: Mouton, 1959).

[2] For a comparison of this study with a much earlier and more fragmentary one see L. H. Palmier, "Occupational Distribution of Parents of Pupils in Certain Indonesian Educational Institutions", *Indonesie*, vol. 10 (1957), pp. 320–376.

Changes in the Social Structure of the Teaching Profession: Social Mobility and the Shortage of Elementary School Teachers[1].

HASSO VON RECUM

IN this paper are presented some results of an investigation undertaken by the Sociological Seminar at the Christian-Albrecht-University, Kiel, into the part played by the teaching profession in social mobility. The investigation was designed as complement to a large-scale empirical study of social mobility undertaken by the Seminar. It was based on a survey of the two training colleges for teachers situated in Kiel and Flensburg (Schleswig-Holstein). The interview method was not used, for reasons of expediency. Instead, anonymous questionnaires were distributed with the aid of sponsoring groups (college directors and student confidants). This method seemed to be justified, having regard to the rather homogeneous structure and educational level of the groups concerned, and, indeed, proved successfull. All (395) students who had entered the colleges mentioned during the summer term of 1954 were questioned; 47.8% responded and the representativeness of this sample has been established with reference to the findings of various other surveys made by the college administration and by the Schleswig-Holstein Office of Statistics.

It has been suggested by *Mitgau-Heidelberg*, *Geiger*[2] and others that the profession of elementary school teacher occupies a key position in the process of interchange between the social classes. Looked at over three generations, they argue, it can be seen to serve as a spring-board or jumping-off ground in the process of upward social mobility. Thus, to Mitgau, the profession is the 'melting-pot' in a process of social transformation in the course of which, from one generation to the next, artisans, farmers and traders are turned into university educated individuals. And *Geiger*, who was concerned to understand this social function of the teaching profession, had planned, shortly before he died, to make an enquiry among Danish teachers in training. It has also been noted in France and in Great Britain, where *Tropp*[1] refers to it as a problem to be analysed in a future empirical investigation: "We would like to know whether the teaching profession is still acting as an important channel of social mobility". And our own enquiry has this problem as its "Leitmotiv".

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[1] *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie*, 7, 4, 1955, p. 574–79. See also Sonderheft 4, 1960, p. 108–119.

[2] *Hermann Mitgau:* Berufsvererbung und Berufswechsel im Handwerk. Berlin-Spandau 1952, p. 39. *Hermann Mitgau:* Familienschicksal und Soziale Rangordnung. Leipzig 1928, p. 76. *Theodor Geiger:* Soziale Umschichtungen in einer dänischen Mittelstadt. Kopenhagen 1951, p. 41.

In the areas of our investigation the profession of the elementary school teacher has undergone a significant change during recent decades. The requirement that teachers in elementary schools be university graduates was first introduced in Prussia in the nineteen-twenties. It was abolished during the Third Reich but was re-established at the end of the Second World War in Schleswig-Holstein and other states of the German Federal Republic. University education for elementary school teachers brings about what Geiger terms a "collective change of status". A step in the inter-generation process of upward mobility is eliminated and the profession no longer fulfils its traditional "springboard" function. We may ask how these changes affect the process of interchange between the classes. Will teachers in future be recruited from other better-educated social groups than formerly? Or will the social groups from which they have traditionally come – the artisans, farmers, and traders – adapt themselves to the new situation by raising their educational standards? The answer seems to depend on the prestige enjoyed by the teaching profession in the alternative social groups from which it may expect to recruit under the changed conditions. The children of the professional and academic class will look to teaching as a career only if it is socially attractive to them. If, on the other hand, educational standards are raised in the groups traditionally supplying teachers, the profession will find itself competing for recruits with the older, higher professions now open to the better educated offspring of these groups. If recruits are forthcoming from neither of these sources there ensues the shortage of young teachers with which we are currently familiar.

This shortage is much discussed, and a variety of reasons are held responsible for it. Many of these reasons have something to be said for them, but they rarely go to the core of the problem. The requirement of university education for elementary school teachers – whatever the justification advanced[2] – is determined, like any other measure of economic or social policy, by a variety of purposes. But whatever the intention – whether it be to improve professional standards or to raise the social status of teachers – it results in a shortage of young teachers. Furthermore, the problem cannot be solved by reverting to the recruitment of teachers from among students with only an elementary education.

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[1] *Asher Tropp:* Factors affecting the status of the school teacher in England and Wales; in: Transactions of the Second World Congress of Sociology, Vol. II, London, 1954, p. 166.

[2] *Geiger* thinks that this requirement is motivated not only by objective regard for the standards of professional achievement but also by status ambitions. See *Th. Geiger:* Typologie und Mechanik der gesellschaftlichen Fluktuation; in: Die Einheit der Sozialwissenschaften. Stuttgart 1955, p. 107.

The times of "unredeemed intelligence" are past and, moreover, the great diversity of the modern occupational structure acts as an effective filter of talent.

We may now look at the empirical findings underlying the foregoing brief discussion. An investigation into the distribution of occupational prestige was recently undertaken by the Kiel Seminar[1]. Thirty-eight representative occupations, including elementary teaching, were ranked according to the social prestige attributed to them by the individuals questioned. There emerged four prestigegroups; to the first and highest ranking group belonged all the academic professions as well as some other top occupations such as those of factory director or big land-owner. It is interesting to note that the elementary school teacher ranked exactly at the point of transition between the first and second prestige-group. This second group comprised independent manufacturing, farming, and certain qualified technical and commercial occupations, i.e. precisely the occupational group which has traditionally supplied teachers[2]. We are presented with a very different view of the teaching profession depending on the group from which we look at it; it is the profession of lowest consideration in the group of the academic and other top occupations, but the highest in the second group which includes non-academic occupations. Thus the social attraction of the teaching profession varies. Young people whose fathers exercise an academic profession do not feel impelled to become teachers, because they consider the profession to be marginal. The offspring of the second prestige group, however, see it as a top occupation worth striving for. The social origins of future teachers revealed by our enquiry reflect this situation. Table 1 shows the various occupations of the fathers of training college students in our sample, classified into four groups corresponding to the four prestige-groups mentioned above. The figures are also grouped by sex since we found marked differences in the social origins of men and women in the sample[3].

The four occupational groups in the table are comprised as follows:

I academic professions, big farmers, officers of the armed forces.

II medium farmers, independent craftsmen and manufacturers, engineers from technical schools, foremen, higher employees, civil servants of middle rank (including elementary school teachers).

III small peasants, gardeners, dependent craftsmen, lower employees, sales agents, lower civil servants.

IV farm labourers.

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[1] See *K. M. Bolte*, Sozialer Aufstieg und Abstieg, Stuttgart 1959, p. 36.

[2] The same typical prestige ranking of the elementary school teacher emerges from a similar investigation by *G. Wurzbacher*: Das Dorf im Spannungsfeld industrieller Entwicklung. Stuttgart 1953, p. 38.

[3] The teaching profession has recently been characterised by a steadily increasing intake of women. The quota of female students attending training colleges in the Federal Republic rose from 47% in 1950 to 64% in 1956. In Schleswig-Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen and Berlin-West it climbed to over 70%. Women teachers now comprise 40% of the teaching staff of primary schools against 30% in 1920.

Table 1

The social origins of men and women students entering training colleges for teachers in Schleswig-Holstein, 1954

Occupational groups	*Women* %	*Men* %
I	27.6	7.6
II	54.6	71.3
III	17.0	15.1
IV	0.8	4.5
unclassified	—	1.5
Total	100.0 (N 123)	100.0 (N 66)

Considering first the men, we see that only 7.6% are drawn from occupational group I (the highest prestige-group). The bulk of the men (71.3%) is recruited from group II (the second prestige-group in which the teaching profession ranks highest). For the boys of families in occupational group I the teaching profession is evidently not attractive. At this social level the changed status of the teaching profession has not been acknowledged by an increased propensity to enter it – except by the girls. For, as can be seen from Table 1, although families in group I do not care for their sons to become elementary school teachers, they do not seem to have the same objections to their daughters doing so[1]. Thus, the social standing of the teaching profession differs according to sex as well as social level. For the boys of families in group I the teaching profession represents the lower limit of the range of possible occupations; for the girls, teacher-training represents a welcome and – from the point of view of social status – acceptable alternative to an university career which would involve higher costs, not only financially but in terms of time and intellectual effort too. The boys of families in group II are attracted by the teaching profession; however, those who qualify for admission to a university frequently prefer the traditional academic professions. There are considerably fewer women than men from this group taking up teaching. The reason seems to be that the daughters of families at this social level are often given fewer educational chances than sons. The small contribution made by the two lower groups, III and IV must reflect the poorer opportunities for secondary education at this level.

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[1] Historical studies reveal the fact that marked differences in the social origins of men and women teachers date back even to the time when women first entered the profession. In the 19th century this was a source of class conflicts weakening the solidarity of the group. See *I. Gahlings and E. Moering,* Die Volksschullehrerin, Heidelberg 1961, p. 47–55.

Table 2 presents the occupations of students' fathers classified by industrial groups.

Table 2

Industrial classification of occupations followed by students' fathers

	%
1. Agriculture	10
2. Crafts	9
3. Industry, manufacturing trades, transportation	6
4. Administrative occupations	13
5. Civil service	52
6. Commerce	4
7. Liberal professions	4
8. Armed forces	2
Total	100 (N 189)

The bulk (52%) of students' fathers were civil servants of one or other kind. The traditional recruiting field for teachers, i.e. agriculture, the crafts, and commerce, is represented to the extent of only 23%. If, to the 52% of the civil servants are added the 13% of the administrative occupations (closely related to the former as to occupational milieu), we arrive at the conclusion that two thirds of the rising generation of teachers are drawn from the families of civil servants and white collar employees. *Geiger's* hypothesis that interchange from one generation to the next is predominantly between "functionally similar strata" is here strongly confirmed. The decrease in the contribution of the traditional recruiting area in favour of the civil servants and white-collar employees must reflect the raising of educational demands – in other words, to the requirement that elementary school teachers be university graduates.

Our sample includes 51 fathers of students who themselves are elementary school teachers; 27 of these fathers, i.e. more than half, come from agriculture, the crafts or trade; there is, however, a comparatively high number – 14 – whose fathers have been civil servants. The social origin of 98 fathers of students who are civil servants reflects the same trend; 47% of them come from agriculture, the crafts, and trade; 34% had fathers who also were civil servants. Thus, there seems to exist a stable occupational core of civil servants throughout three generations. The increasing importance of the stratum of civil servants as a field of recruitment to teaching, so characteristic of the present time, is not, then, entirely novel.

As has already been mentioned, 51 students are the children of elementary school teachers; accordingly, the rate of self-recruitment is 27%. This unusually high rate refutes the traditional idea that the sons of elementary teachers feel a dislike for their fathers' occupation.

An even stronger occupational tradition emerges if the families of the students are analysed according to whether there have been, or still are, other members of the family exercising the profession of elementary school teacher. If we take the family to include the siblings of the students questioned, the parents and their siblings, and the paternal and maternal grandfathers, we find that in 112 families (nearly 60%) of a total of 189 families, one person (for instance, the father) or even several persons (father, mother, etc.) have been, or are, elementary teachers. In 50 of the 112 families there is more than one member in the profession; 42 of these 50 are families of teachers and civil servants.

Summary: Our findings reveal that the social basis of recruitment to the elementary teaching profession has become unusually stable. The fathers of two thirds of the students questioned in our enquiry are civil servants or employees. In 60% of students' families the teaching profession is traditional; frequently, several members of the family are found to have been or to be in the profession. The rate of self-recruitment is high (27%). The teaching profession, once an important avenue of upward social mobility and considered as a jumping-off ground for further mobility, has lost these functions. To-day there is a shortage of teachers and the profession is largely self-recruited. The flow of teachers traditionally recruited from agriculture, the crafts, and trade has considerably decreased as a result of the requirement of university education as a qualification for entry to elementary teaching. Nevertheless, the old expectations of upward mobility among teachers' families have not disappeared entirely, as might be concluded from the very high rate of self-recruitment. There are many sons of teachers among university students. It seems that teachers' families are characterised on the one hand by strong ties with their social origins and a stable social position; and on the other by a tendency to escape from their social origins and to climb socially.

NOTES AND NEWS

1. NOTES

1. A Note on Cross-Cultural Studies in Education

In recent years anthropologists, sociologists, and other social scientists have shown greater interest in educational problems on a cross-cultural plane. Comparative Education as a branch of general study in pedagogy has gained more and more attention. However, cross-cultural comparison was mostly restricted to euro-american (eastern and western) education, and that also, covering mainly the formal and organisational aspects of education. Attempts at comprehending education as a basic process in human social existence in all its aspects involving consideration of all cultures and societies, primitive or civilized, prehistoric or historic, have been almost neglected by non-anthropologists as a rule. Even in the field of cultural and social anthropology, observation and study of educational processes have been few and far between, inadequate or incidental. This has been mostly due to the lack of an outline of study of education cross-culturally.

This is precisely what Professor Jules Henry seeks to do. To that end he presents in a tentative frame in the Current Anthropology, Vol. 1, No. 4, July 1961, "A Cross-Cultural Outline of Education". Much of the Outline has grown out of his own research on cultural factors in learning carried out for seven years at Washington University. Direct observation of American class-rooms with special attention to teacher-pupil interaction supplied him with the empirical data for analysis.

Henry's starting point is the divergence of learning situation as between *Homo sapiens* and the other animals. Human learning is dominated by symbolic processes, the motivational organizors of learning are more variable, that is, much less subject to innate determinants, with apparently no limits to human capacity to learn. Besides, learning in man is "polyphasic", that is, "affected by a strong innate tendency to learn more than one thing at a time", much more extensively than in subhuman species.

The outline, not claimed to be exhaustive, is built round twelve major sections or questions, each divided into many sub-sections, which are (often) again subdivided into individual items. Explanatory notes on a number of subsections have been added to clarify certain concepts or categories, e.g., self-conceptions, cultural fictions, discontinuities. The major sections are:

1. On what does the educational process focus? (Contents of education)
2. How is the information communicated? (Teaching Methods)
3. Who educates? (Personnel, agencies)
4. How does the person being educated participate? (What is his attitude?)
5. How does the educator participate? (What is his attitude?)

6. Are some things taught to some and not to others?
7. Discontinuities in the educational process.
8. What limits the quantity and quality of information a child receives from a teacher?
9. What forms of conduct control (discipline) are used?
10. What is the relation between the intent and the results of education?
11. What self-conceptions seem reinforced?
12. How long does the process of formal education last?

The outline, however, as the author points out, deals primarily, though not exclusively, with children about six years of age and older, and concentrates on the formal, conscious aspects of education and takes into consideration solely learning in society. The knowledge gained while alone, or physiological pathways to enculturation of the infant and young child or the formation of personality in close physical contact with the family in the earliest years, which are excluded from the scope of this outline, will surely be of great value for a more exhaustive and adequate outline in the future.

In its restricted compass, however, this outline has much to commend for itself as a guide to observation and study of education in literate and preliterate cultures. Correlation of educational processes with social status, status groups and social and cultural change and social control etc. has thus a greater chance of its proper documentation in field situations.

Some broad conclusions born out of this research perhaps may be mentioned at the end. The facts are that despite the variety of cultures in space and time, there is no such thing as "natural maturation" in a social sense, that the central problem for man is the adaptation of each new generation to culture, that the perceptual sphere for the individual has been narrowed in every culture with recourse to ridicule, praise, torture, admonition etc. There is no proof for the assumption that children invariably, just 'naturally', grow into, or assume responsibilities of, adulthood. 'Rather, children have always been aware that they have to validate their status as adults by learning adult techniques from older teachers. Thus, throughout his historic course, *Homo sapiens* has been a "status seeker"!.........' On the other hand, it is not clear that adults have always assumed that children would naturally wish to be adult. Over and over again, the data show that children have had to be urged up the status ladder by rewards, punishments and other even more complex devices...' (Henry).

It is encouraging to note that such stimulating and fruitful enquiries by Henry are meant to be continued further, and we hope, will be supplemented by others soon.

I. CONFERENCES: SEMINARS

2. The American Indian Chicago Conference, June 13–20, 1961

It was a historic occasion indeed when, for the first time, representatives of almost all major American Indian tribes of the United States gathered together at the University of Chicago to air 'The Voice of the American Indian'. It was a signal achievement of indefatigable efforts and unwavering faith of Professor

Sol Tax and his assistant and associate coordinators, Dr. N. O. Lurie and Dr. Robert Rietz respectively, who devoted about six months in planning and executing this stupendous humanitarian task. Conceived by Tax, it fits in well with his famous Fox Project to become another memorable example of 'action anthropology'. As 'action anthropologist' Tax is interested in evolving effective techniques of community development and has developed a concept of community action emphasizing self-determination and self-help. He does not rule out the advice and guidance of experts-anthropologists and others. The guiding idea in a nutshell, as applied to the building up of this Conference from its grass roots, – for, it was designed to reach all Amerindians wherever they might be and to give them equal chance to air their grievances, views, suggestions and plans –, was, how best to help the Amerindians to help themselves.

"The Conference came into being through three interrelated factors: the aggravated state of Indian discontent; the increasing concern and development of new skills on the part of scholars and scientists in resolving social problems; and timeliness in terms of present opportunities to effect changes desired by Indians" (Lurie, p. 478).

The condition of Amerindians had progressively gone from bad to worse during the past 150 years in spite of many well-intentioned but mostly ill-executed legislative and administrative efforts for their welfare. There was, however, a brief happy interlude when the understanding Indian Commissioner in John Collier carried out what has been aptly described as a 'New Deal' for them from 1933 to 1945. But for this brief spell, the basic assumptions of the American Administrations and Congresses had been that the Amerindians posed merely a transitional problem and they were soon going to be assimilated into the American life-stream, at least culturally. Hence, the only solution lay in all-out efforts to force or facilitate processes leading to assimilation to an American way of life, just as if they were European immigrants. But, this unfortunately did not happen, even if some groups adapted their life superficially to the demands of new occupations or loss of lands. The Mohawk are not the only example of such successful adaptation to industrialized environment. However, in almost all cases the actual results did not bear out the good intentions. Rather, to the contrary. Lands passed into the hands of the whites and the reservations shrunk to uneconomic size. Discrimination in regard to amenities and privileges, between the treaty-protected Amerindians with their 'home' and 'country' in the reservations and those who had to fend for themselves in the cities, often migrating from one to the other, fanned up the hidden jealousies and tribal animosities. Along with these, population pressure was also contributing to the misery on the reservations. From about the beginning of this century the Amerindian population took a great leap to 508, 665 souls by 1960 – about as many as in the Columbus' discovery. After 1950 some ill-conceived policies hastened the drift towards a critical stage. The so-called "termination" actually sought to terminate federal protection in 5 States with sizeable Amerindian populations giving rise to fears of taxation of hitherto tax-free reservations, and hence, to apprehension of land alienation by the ignorant or indigent. Secondly, by a 'relocation' programme, which was supposed to be 'voluntary', the Amerindians were encouraged to emigrate to far-off cities and were given the lowest paid, least secure jobs. 'Relocation' was thought to bring about some sort of 'final solution' to the problem of assimilation; amenities in the reservations were with-held, as the policy was not to encourage perpetuation of the community in reservations. The Amerindian fears were only strengthened by the decision in 1957 to build the Kinzua Dam, which would submerge a large section of the Seneca reservation in New York State in violation of a treaty signed in 1794. Thanks to the legal lacunae many desperate Amerindian groups had taken to the law courts against 'termination'.

Apart from the critical aggravation of the Amerindian state of affairs, by 1960 'action anthropology' and 'applied anthropology' and other applied social sciences were ready with tools and experience to try their hand at the so-called 'Indian Problem'. In 1957 the Fund for the Republic, Inc. established the Commission on the Rights and Responsibilities of the American Indians to gather facts and make recommendations.

The proper atmosphere was already being created by the favourable political situation in 1960, when neither of the presidential candidates were committed to the former policies. There was, then, the prime urgency of evolving a sound, new, long-term policy acceptable to Amerindians. By this time the Emil Schwarzhaupt Foundation had asked Tax to undertake a study of Amerindian problems and develop recommendations. And this triggered off the brilliant brainchild of Tax. Chicago University was to play the host and provide the neutral venue to obviate all suspicions of government collaboration. As another happy coincidence, Tax was presiding at Denver over the meeting of representatives of Universities interested in Amerindian education and research, where he could also interest the National Congress of American Indians in his ideas. From this rather selective, to some even suspect, organisation he got a model 'charter' of Amerindian rights and recommendations and with his suggestions and comments circulated it among individuals and tribal organizations at local and regional levels. He had to take especial care to disarm fears or anxieties that it was not going to cover all American Indians or all their grievances or views. The draft 'charter' was discussed, taken apart, amended or even opposed to at various levels and in several editions. There were die-hard traditionalists who wanted 'sovereign' rights of bygone tribal days and there were extremely self-conscious assimilationist-modernists who tended to think that the past should be washed off their minds as out-of-date and inexpedient. However, this conscious move to organize an All American Indian Conference created a ferment and built up a vision of the like they never had. In spite of the long controversies, and perhaps because of them, a large measure of unanimity was reached before as well as during the Conference. It was on their own initiative that what was first conceived as 'American Indian Charter Convention' evolved into the non-committal "American Indian Chicago Conference", and similarly, the 'charter' into 'Declaration of Indian Purpose'.

When at last 467 Amerindians assembled at Chicago as official representatives of 90 bands and tribes, divided themselves into 10 Committees, wrangled over parliamentary procedures and fought over words and sentences, gradually the spirit of the Conference caught them on. The 145 non-Amerindians, anthropologists, sociologists, lawyers, representatives of various organizations, public or private, were there only as interested observers, ready to offer advice when asked for. The Amerindians had quite a few able men in their midst, for example, a Justice of the Supreme Court of Oklahoma, himself a Cherokee, and a keynote speaker in an anthropologist from Santa Clara Pueblo. The themes which set the tone of the conference are: "Indian indentity does not preclude living effectively amidst the complexities of modern life; Indian diversity does not preclude unity of action in securing Indian rights and working for a better life for all Indians" (Lurie, p. 490).

'The Declaration of Indian Purpose' in its final form, with eight appendices, sought to change the attitude of the United States Government and the public on basis of respect for, and understanding of, their historical past and in view of the serious neglect displayed so far. A few legislative and administrative changes were also called for. Insistence on Amerindian participation in planning and executing programmes for their well-being and economic rehabilitation was a dominant theme. It may be worthwhile to reproduce two passages towards the end, as these epitomize the approach, attitudes and their needs so well.

"What we ask of America is not charity, not paternalism, even when benevolent. We ask only that the nature of our situation be recognized and made the basis of policy and action.

"In short, the Indians ask for assistance, technical and financial, for the time needed, however long that may be, to regain in the America of the space age some measure of the adjustment they enjoyed as the original possessors of their native land".

However, their mood was far from the one of bellicosity or of revenge, for they all wanted to share in the benefits of being good Amerincan citizens. The emblem of the Conference, 'The Voice of the American Indian', in the form of the proverbial 'Peace-pipe', symbolized, so to say, peace not only among the diverse tribes and factions with conflicting interests but also between the American autochthones and the Euroamerican 'immigrants'.

One way to measure the success achieved by this Conference is to find out how far the traditional stereotypes about 'the American Indian', whom Redfield appropriately characterized as "the generalized Indian", are on the way to be dislodged from the matrix of prejudices in the mind of an average American. A sample of these stereotypes may be given in Lurie's words, "Indians are factional. Indians are suspicious. Indians are apathetic. Indians are unable to handle their own affairs. Indians are too varied culturally from tribe to tribe to hold any views in common. Indians are at the mercy of the few political Indians who railroad through only measures that they want..." (p. 482)

Another method is to begin at home, among the anthropologists themselves. Thus, Sol Tax admits, "In the last six months, I (for one) have learned more about the Indian view than in my 30 years of previous research". Not that the Conference had no educational value for the Amerindians. They not only discovered so many whites out to help them in a manner very different from the ways of the Indian Bureau officials or others of their bitter experience. Moreover, it is not an exaggeration to suppose that the near unanimity reached in all discussions, if one forgets their length, must have impressed upon them the essential unities among the apparently irreconcilable diversities in the life-ways and life-chances of Amerindians. Even more. In the seventh appendix the letter from the Director of the Inter-American Indian Institute in Mexico City called for closer relations and sharing of ideals of Indians of all the Americas.

Therefore, this Conference may well be the harbinger of Pan-American Indianism. Thus, the motto of this conference may well be summed up in Tax' pithy observation, 'The "vanishing American" is here to stay', to which we may add, perhaps, on his own terms.

The augury for better days ahead is already encouraging. With an understanding Secretary of the Interior, on having a well-manned President's Task Force on a mission of fact-finding in Indian Affairs, and with a tried applied anthropologist, Philleo Nash, as the new Indian Commissioner, this conference might have uniquely filled the need of the hour, nay, of the future as well.[1]

3. Social Implications of Industrialization and Technological Change. Chicago, 15–22 September 1960

This important conference was jointly sponsored by Unesco, and the National Commissions for Unesco of the United States and Canada, and held at Chicago from 15 to 22 September 1960. Thirty-four regular participants from 11 countries besides Canada and the United States and eighteen observers representing a variety of public and private institutions and agencies attended. Twenty four technical papers as given below were presented. In addition, the Research Office of International Social Science Council prepared and distributed some twelve working papers broadly surveying the research results for the major regions of the world on the topics before the conference. The technical papers might conveniently be classified into following fields of interest:

1. *Conceptual and Theoretical*
    (i) Hoselitz, B. F. 'Main Concepts in the Analysis of the Social Implications of Technical Change'.
    (ii) Smelser, N. J. 'Mechanisms of Change and Adjustment to Change'.
2. *Social Implications*
    (iii) Easterbrook, W. T. 'The Enterpreneurial Function in Relation to Technological and Economic Change'.
    (iv) McClelland, D. G. 'The Achievement Motive in Economic Growth'.
    (v) Kuznets, S. 'Consumption, Industrialization and Urbanization'.
    (vi) Moore, W. E. 'The Impact of Industry'.
    (vii) Apter, D. E. 'System, Process and the Politics of Economic Development'.
    (viii) Eisenstadt, S. N. 'Problems of Emerging Bureaucracies in Developing Areas and New States'.
    (ix) Hauser, Ph. M. 'The Social, Economic and Technological Problems of Rapid Urbanization'.
    (x) Blanksten, G. I. 'Transference of Social and Political Loyalties'.
    (xi) Keyfitz, N. 'The Impact of Technological Change on Demographic Patterns'.
    (xii) Goode, W. J. 'Industrialization and Family Change'.
    (xiii) Anderson, C. A. 'The Impact of the Educational System on Technological Change and Modernization'.
    (xvi) Pool, I. de S. 'The Role of Communication in the Process of Modernization and Technological Change'.

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[1] Acknowledgement: Nancy Oestreich Lurie, Current Anthropology, Vol. II. No. V, December, 1961, Chicago, pp. 478–500.

(xv) Aboltin, V. 'Social Implications of Industrialization in the Soviet Union'.

3. *Strategy of Research and Resources*
   (xvi) Germani, G. 'Problems and Strategy of Research in Less Developed Countries; Latin America'.
   (xvii) Sutton, F. X. 'Problems and Strategy of Research in Less Developed Countries'.
   (xviii) Costa Pinto, L. A. 'The Supply of Research Resources and Skills in the Study of Modernization and Technological Change'.
   (xix) Vakil, C. N. 'The Supply of Research Resources and Skills in the Study of Modernization and Technological Change' (Parts I and II).
   (xx) Provinse, J. H. 'Methods of Promoting the Spread and Better Use of the Social Sciences'.
   (xxi) Bertrand, A. 'Methods of Promoting the Spread and Better Use of the Social Sciences'.
4. *General Research*
   (xxii) Lambert, R. D. 'Attitudes toward Savings and Investment in Southern Asia'.
   (xxiii) El-Saaty, H. 'Summary Report of the General Rapporteur of the Unesco Meeting of Arab-speaking States on their Social Science Resources relative to the Social Implications of Industrialization and Technological Change'.
   (xxiv) Jamieson, S. 'Survey of Recent and Current Research on Social Implications of Industrialization and Technological Change in Canada'.

As the catalogue of papers presented suggests, discussions ranged over wide areas. Only a few points may be touched upon.

Relevance and suitability of dichotomies of 'polar types' or 'ideal types' and general concepts of structural change were analysed. It is open to question whether such typology and concepts help one identify processes of social change in empirical situations from given causes and factors rather than explain the origins of change in terms of causes and factors yet to be uncovered. Again, how far social science has conceptually differentiated competing groups with exclusive membership and loyalties from groups with overlapping memberships that may involve individuals in situations of competing and inconsistent demands?

Apart from other ticklish conceptualization problems around 'urbanism' and 'over-urbanization' etc., one may note some fruitful lines of enquiry emerging. Whether in spheres of motivation, e.g. high achievement orientation, primacy should be given to psychological factors or to institutional framework? How far is it valid under cross-cultural conditions that possibility of adult personality transformation or attitudinal changes are of minimal importance for transition towards a modern industrial society? Whether other-worldly orientations, or rather, the traditional modes of reciprocity and of maintaining and validating status in some traditional cultures effectively impede saving and rational investment in developing societies? Some investment like the traditional one in land may be non-rational, more of sentimental value, while saving may be used for ceremonies or hoarding rather than invested for welfare or economic production.

Are the bureaucracies the same in their functions throughout history or as between industrialized and non-industrialized, as between socialistic and democratic countries? There was an impression that in developing societies the bureaucracy is a powerful agent of transformation rather than of conservation.

Similarly, whether, under conditions of urbanization and industrialization, extended kinship relationships tend to disappear or shrink in range, or, to become voluntary rather than compulsory? To what extent there is a lag between aspirations engendered by education and mass media on the one hand, and skills and capabilities cultivated and attitudes imbided for greater productivity and investiment, on the other?

In the developing countries there was often an ambivalent attitude towards social scientists manifest in the distrust of social sciences combined with an insistent demand for practical advice at short notice. To add to his problems, the social scientist is apt to be torn between his loyalty to 'pure' science and his social obligation to aid in furthering given policies or in elucidating policy issues. The question of international communication and collaboration and training of indigenous experts at home or abroad also featured prominently.

Regional surveys of research raised the crucial issue as to what extent comparisons and hence, generalizations of universal applicability could be realized. There was always a danger of 'over-generalization'.

4. French National Seminar on Industrial Psycho-Sociology at Rambouillet from 13 to 19 February 1961

The French National Association for the Development of Applied Social Sciences (ANDSHA) organized the Second National Seminar on Industrial Psycho-Sociology at Rambouillet from 13 to 19 February 1961. It was directed jointly by Professor D. Anzieu, Director of Strasbourg Institute of Psychology and Professor J. Ardoino of the Bordeaux Institute of Business Management, Secretary-General of ANDSHA and and Director of Institut de Psychosociologie Industrielle, Commerciale et Administrative (IPSICA). Several other institutions sent their specialists in neuro-psychiatry, psychopedagogy, social-psychology etc. Also two ethnologists, a linguist, and some lecturers in humanities and sciences took part. The participants included 12 members of the managerial grades in industry, commerce or the civil service, 11 training officers from large private or nationalized undertakings, specialized firms of consultants, various branches of the civil service, regional development boards, productivity organisations etc., besides 6 teachers and 2 Principals of educational institutions, and 9 officers from the three armed services and a medical consultant from the Social Security Service; besides, two from the Portuguese National Institute for Industrial Research, and a member of the Jerusalem Group Dynamics Centre also participated. The general theme of the Seminar was 'the social psychological aspects of communication and information methods in working parties and organizations'. Specifically its objectives were seven fold:

1. To assist participants' thinking on a certain number of problems concerning the nature of communication and the circulation of information, constantly encountered in their professional life, but which organizers, managers and

supervisory staff do not generally have time to study thoroughly.

2. To prompt a systematic re-examination of the prejudices, accepted ideas and stereotypes which hinder communication.
3. To make those in charge of human groups aware of the point of view and reactions of those receiving information – the most significant of these reactions being 'non-logical' or irrational (affective, emotional).
4. To give each of these persons in a position of responsibility the opportunity of considering honestly and clear-sightedly what it is in his own psychological make-up which determines certain attitudes, ways of behaviour and opinions which may help or hinder his professional work and make him either more or less understanding and more or less understandable.
5. To make participants aware of the psycho-social obstacles which most commonly impede mutual understanding and help them to find means of overcoming these obstacles; to help them appreciate the atmosphere conditioning the efficacy of communication.
6. To test approaches, procedures and techniques or 'descending' or 'ascending', 'vertical' or 'horizontal' communication, and effective methods of transmitting information which would enable managers and senior staff members to improve their own means of conveying their views and getting them accepted, respected, listened to and obeyed, and also to give their associates the possibility of voicing their opinions and initiating action.
7. To help participants to appreciate that groups, work teams and communities have an 'inherent creativity' of their own, independent of the resources of their individual members, and that such potentialities are seldom developed, owing to the absence of a suitable communication system and information policy.

The Organizers of the Seminar had realized that the scholastic or rationalistic training of managerial or supervisory staff of industrial, commercial or civil service organisations inclined them to exaggerate the rational element in human situations and problems as they encounter in their day to day interactions with their subordinates. On the other hand, these organisation men were ready to study, understand and thereby solve such problems. For this reason, the Seminar was not confined to the usual type of lecture or training sessions (e.g. for leadership), but also took to methods of 'depth training', aimed rather at comprehending non-logical or extra-rational elements of human motivations and urges so as to bring about a change in their attitudes both at the conscious as well as unconscious levels.

II. ORGANISATIONS: ACTIVITIES

5. Anthropological Survey of India

The Department of Anthropology, a research institute, established in 1946 by the Government of India has been recently renamed Anthropological Survey of India. At the Fourth meeting of the Central Advisory Board of Anthropology this October its various activities were discussed. The Minister for Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, Government of India, remarked in his presidential address rightly, "At one time our Department placed a very great emphasis on physical anthropology...... I think today perhaps the emphasis should be a little more on the social side......". He drew pointed attention to contributions that anthropologists could make towards forging national integration. However, he cautioned against anthropologists allowing "their wishes or their aspirations to run beyond actual facts. And the first task of the anthropologists emphasized," is to give us an objective study of what the situation is. He cited in that connection the now completed two-year study of Distribution of Culture Traits, mainly of material culture (village plans, domestic architecture agricultural implements, costumes of men and women, food, sanitary practices, means of transport and village gods and festivals, etc.), in 420 villages in 311 districts out of 322 districts in the whole of India. Though the villages selected are insignificant in number compared to over half a million of them, they fairly represent various cultural regions and sub-regions. The preliminary report is already in the press. In the context of the presentday regionalism in India, the results are perhaps unexpected by an average Indian, not to speak of the foreigner. In the words of Prof. N. K. Bose, the Director of the Survey, "If one is permitted to say so, one may submit that there are more things in common between the daily life of the people in different states of India than we are prone to admit in moments of excitement." Even if such a study be criticized as smacking of diffusionist bias of studying whole cultures in 'shreds and patches,' we need such groundwork studies very much, for India is, anthropologically speaking, still a *terra incognita*. Therefore, one hopes the Survey will follow up this useful survey of material culture with a broadbased study of social and other cultural traits, like kinship systems, family and marriage, caste rituals, concepts and treatment of diseases etc..

Another interesting undertaking of the Survey has been to organize Summer School in Anthropology. The first one was held at Kodaikanal from May 28th to June 9th this year. This gave an opportunity for younger professional anthropologists, who are, compared to some other countries, ruefully few, from Universities and Research Institutes to come together for exchange of views on caste, shifting cultivation and physical anthropology of Indian peoples. Thus was formally inaugurated a process of fruitful collaboration between governmental research institutes and the Universities teaching Anthropology. Two resolutions were passed at this Summer School urging for a minimum number and categories of observations to be made on the caste system in any Indian locality and on the physiognomy of Indians, so that results might be comparable.

Among other studies undertaken by the Survey a few may be mentioned:

Optimum population supportable on land under shifting cultivation, reproductive life of Hindu and Muslim women from demographic as well as social-psychological points of view, micro-evolution in physical type under conditions of change in habitat and occupation, dermatoglyphics of the population in Nilgiri hills and Northeast India, reconstruction and measurement of prehistoric and historic skeletal parts to throw light on racial composition of ancient India, etc. Of particular note is the compilation of a 'Who's Who in Indian Anthropology' now in progress, which will be added to the Annual Summary of Publications in Indian Anthropology, another piece of good work. Similarly, a bibliography of Indian Physical Anthropology is also under preparation.

The Anthropological Survey of India, which has also linguistic, social psychological, and nutritional wings, and has established Sub-Stations at Ootcamand in S. India, Nagpur in Central Indian and Shillong in North-East India besides an old branch at Andamans-Nicobar Islands, is sure to contribute more and play a greater role in advancing anthropology in India.

6. Social Studies by the Indian Census Organisation

In India, right from the first all India Census of 1872, the Census Organization has been traditionally the fosterfather of Sociology and Anthropology. What started as side interests of Census operations developed into regular features. Thus, collection of ethnographic notes on tribes and castes, customs, sects, arts and crafts and languages evolved into Linguistic Survey of India by Sir Grierson and survey of social structure in a continuous chain. It stimulated compilation of statistical accounts, Imperial and District Gazetteers, carrying out of cartographic survey and encouraged its officers to undertake a number of comprehensive studies on Tribes and Castes (of Bengal, South India, Bombay, Northwest Provinces and Central Provinces). Similarly, Herbert Risley's famous anthropometric survey was a by-product of the Census Organization. The Survey of Social Structure achieved its peak in 1931, when, under the well-known Administrator-Anthropologist, Dr. J. H. Hutton, attention was focused on tribes and lower castes, structure of joint family, caste and occupation correlations, and a second anthropometric survey by Dr. B. S. Guha was carried out to supplement Risley's. For demographic and other details of different castes from Brahman onwards, and of the tribal groups, the census of 1931 has proved often to be the only available source till today. In 1961 Census, under the imaginative leadership of the present Registrar-General, the study of Social Structure has been given a new fillip. "Socio-economic Survey of 500 villages" with trained investigators, has produced, in actuality, socio-economic data on households in more than 800 villages, besides the valuable information on consanguinous marriages in these villages, undertaken under the auspices of the Human Variation Unit of Indian Cancer Research Centre. In addition, a Survey of Rural Crafts and Industries, including household industrial establishments (small workshops, potters, blacksmiths), and a study of the extent of jajmáni system, are also valuable adjuncts to the Census. A survey of Fairs and Festivals, besides collecting local legends in villages has also been carried through. Census of livestock is another by-product survey of the 1961 census.

Of especial note is another laudable venture of the Census Organization, namely, compilation of monographs on lesser known tribes and Castes. For this purpose anthropologists and other social scientists have already been approached or employed.

Not satisfied with 800 and odd village studies, which will appear in the form of monographs under the editorship of a competent anthropologist, Dr. B. K. Roy Burman, the Census Organization has now called upon eminent social scientists of India to institute a more intensive study of a good number of villages, in order to assess the social impact of industrialization, urbanization, social legislation and land reform measures, etc. These studies again will be published as separate monographs. The inevitable result, perhaps the most handy and most needed will be a reliable, comprehensive, up-to-date, comparative study of village India in an all-India Volume(s).

All social scientists eagerly look forward to the day when the volumes will be ready.

7. Central Institute of Study and Research in Community Development, Mussorie

Established in 1958 by the Government of India, this Institute is destined to play an important part in the history of Community Development not only in India but also in other developing countries. On the Study side emphasis is laid on Orientation Courses of 25 days each for participants, officials and non-officials, academicians and parliamentarians, Indians and foreigners. The courses cover philosophy, objectives and techniques of community development in India and abroad, and its evaluation and interrelations with democracy, socialistic welfare State, public administration and rural problems. The Institute's research personnel are also engaged in case studies of community development from the viewpoint of human problems in technological change, rural democracy etc.. The Institute also encourages Universities and Training Centres for Extension officials to undertake fundamental or operational research in the field of community development by offering fellowships and grants. Fundamental research on the concept of community, community integration and extensions in Indian villages, social change, community development and community consciousness etc. will surely fill a yawning gap in our knowledge about rural communities of India.

Besides, the Institute holds a series of high level Seminars, inviting and encouraging social scientists to discuss on academic and 'action' themes relevant to community development programme. In May 1961, a Seminar on "Methodology of Social Research" was held, to be followed by another on "Social Change in Indian Villages" this October. Results of study, research, discussion groups and seminars are conveyed to the Administration with operational recommendations for change in attitudes, approach, techniques and organisation.

Of especial interest to social scientists in India and abroad will be an important by-product of this Institute: the Clearing House on Information on Community Development, which will compile and issue bibliography of books and articles with brief notes on important publications.

Professor S. C. Dube with his extensive study of community development in India has been organising research as Director of Research at the Institute.

8. Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland

The Royal Anthropological institute of Great Britain and Ireland had established in 1958 the *Middle and South American Research Committee* with Professor Daryll Forde of London University as its Chairman and with corresponding members from several countries besides the UNESCO. 'Guiana Project' happens to be their first research programme with trained anthropologists from various nationalities. Field studies will not only deal with the Amerindian tribes of British, French and Dutch Guiana, Brazil northeast of the Amazon and Rio Branco, and Venezuela east of the Orinoco and Cassiquiare, but also will cover the peasant communities in these regions, often of mixed origins and traditions; changing cultural and social life, economy and development of industries, and class structure etc. will be covered. Allied scientists like linguists, physical anthropologists, archaeologists and specialists in medicine and botany etc. are also sought to be associated in these field studies.

9. Interim Executive Committee of the International Social Science Council, Paris

The Interim Executive Committee of the International Social Science Council held its fourth session at Unesco House, Paris, in October 1960. Professors Sjoerd Groenman, Daryll Forde and Rector Francesco Vito attended. The Committee agreed to a progressive fusion of this Council and the International Committee for Social Sciences Documentation; the latter might be represented in the Council's Executive Committee. The Council is arranging a Round Table Conference in 1961 and topics for this conference will be: 'Social Prerequisites of Industrialization' (rapporteur-general-Professor François Perroux, Director of the Institut de Science Économique Appliquée) and 'Human Sciences building'. The second theme will provide the groundwork for cooperation between various branches of social sciences.

10. Max Weber Archiv, Munich

The Institute of Sociology at the University of Munich, West Germany, under the Directorship of Professor E. K. Francis, has established the Max Weber Archiv in order to provide a central collection of the widely dispersed manuscripts, correspondence and works belonging to his personal library containing valuable marginal notes, some of these lying in possession of persons now residing abroad. Max Weber was a pioneer in many fields and was Professor of sociology, economics and political science at the University of Munich immediately before his death. A central collection like this will greatly help social scientists in various fields who can thus check the textual purity of editions of Weber's work. Communications should be addressed to: Max Weber Archiv, Sociologisches Institut der Universität München, Theresienstr. 3–5, Munich, West Germany.

11. The Second Annual Institute in Economic, Social and Industrial Development, Pittsburgh

The Second Annual Institute in Economic, Social and Industrial Development was held at Pittsburgh for 12 weeks from 8 May to 28 July 1961. This Institute was especially planned for (i) senior foreign and U.S. Government officials, (ii) business and industrial workers, and (iii) key officers of voluntary organizations, who desired an intensive survey of the processes of developmental programming and administration, with special focus on the emerging countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The course covered all aspects and factors of rapid economic growth and democratic social change in these developing countries which find themselves 'in a hurry'. Political, social, economic, cultural and administrative factors were analysed as to their functioning and results. The complex interrelationships among the sectors, governmental and private leaders, as well as administrative and operational methods which facilitate the developmental process, were analysed and evaluated with a view to promote responsible decision-making, effective institution-building and efficient administration.

12. Pacific Scientific Research Centre, Hawaii

The Research Centre was established in May 1960 at Bishop Museum, Hawaii, in order to serve as a clearing-house for the exchange of information on social sciences, geography, and natural history in Pacific Oceania (Polynesia, Micronesia, Melanesia including New Guinea, and adjacent areas). Among other things it is compiling a bibliography with abstracts of publications and a catalogue of persons who are working on, or actively interested in, these subjects and areas, and their specialities. It will also make available to scientists materials published on this area at the least possible cost. E. H. Bryan Jr., Manager, Pacific Scientific Information Centre, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu 17, Hawaii, will appreciate communication from interested scientists.

13. Institut für Soziologie und Ethnologie, Heidelberg

This Institute was established in 1960 summer at the University of Heidelberg, West Germany. Professor W. E. Mühlmann, the ethno-sociologist, in the tradition of late Professor Richard Thurnwald, is its Director. Fields of its studies include Industrial Sociology, Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology with special attention to Africa and South Asia. Preference in systematic study is given among others, to sociology of religion, nativistic movements, and the social psychology of nationalism.

14. Study Centre for Cultural Research, Freiburg

Under the Directorship of Professor Arnold Bergstraesser a Study Centre for Cultural Research has been founded at Freiburg, Germany. It aims at interdisciplinary research on fundamental problems of culture history and culture change, cultural and social anthropology, as well as practical aspects of educational, social, and economic planning and construction in the developing areas. Anthropologists may contact Dr. Rüdiger Schott, Arbeitsstelle für kulturwissenschaftliche Forschung, Löwenstr. 1, Freiburg i. Br., Germany.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Harris Wofford, Jr., *Lohia and America*, Madras, 1961, pp. 159, Rs. 3.

Inter-cultural exchange is a delicate and highly personal experience which may or may not heighten understanding and appreciation. This little book is a stimulating account of one thoughtful man's reaction to a limited, first-hand exploration of another culture. It does not pretend to be more, for the duration of the visit was too short for thorough study, and the baggage of preconceptions too heavy for objectivity.

An eminent Indian socialist, Rammanohar Lohia, toured the United States in the summer of 1951 as a prominent unofficial visitor, under the sponsorship of a small American liberal organization, the Foundation for World Government. Harris Wofford, who accompanied Lohia on most of the whirlwind six weeks journey, is a trustee of the Foundation and a keen student of Indian affairs. He reports the trip in diary form, giving a blow by blow account of places visited, people met, Lohia's many speeches and interviews, audience reactions, and Lohia's moods. The book was first published in the United States more than eight years ago. This recent Indian edition gains by the addition of a long foreword by Lohia in which he presents some of his own reactions to and impressions of America, modified no doubt by the lapse of nearly a decade.

Lohia visited many sections of the United States, from New York to San Francisco, from Alabama to North Dakota. He was most at home on farms and at universities, but he also attended a baseball game where he cheered loudly. A highlight of the trip was a long conversation with Einstein, and he also spoke at length with the leader of the United Automobile Workers, Walter Reuther and with southern tenant farmers and many others. He was appalled at American traffic but admired American women. He got along better with farmers than with trade unionists, and he often was more critical of the many liberals he met than of the few conservatives with whom he talked. Actually, much more is revealed of Lohia's ideas and personality than of his reaction to life in America. Lohia's warmth, vitality, originality, and individualism shine forth. He frequently espoused his brand of socialism, stressing the decentralization of political power and of the economy, the advantages of small unit technology, the dangers of mass production, urbanization, and bigness, and the dream of a Socialist Third Force composed of South Asian countries. His comments on a wide range of topics are interesting and provocative-including criticisms of Nehru and of American foreign aid programs, the Kashmir problem, and the importance of achieving political effectiveness. Often Americans were stirred by these ideas.

But what of Lohia's reactions to America? His view was limited both by the special insights of his socialist doctrine and by the circumstances of his exploration. He was concerned with the plight of American Socialists and he advocated nonviolent resistance techniques to Negro leaders, but he showed little interest in American industry, technological development, and many aspects of the rapidly changing political and cultural scene. He raised searching, questions about America's drive for an increasing standard of living and the pressure for conformity in its voluntary organizations. He was fascinated by the American people and their vitality, but he had deep doubts about its modern civilization. Lohia summarized his feelings when in one discussion he stated: "...The man and woman of America is to my mind influenced more largely than in any other part of the world, by a faith and pursuit of certain simple, generous aims, or principles, or virtues, whatever you call them. But they are there, and that will be perhaps the thing that saves you".

Karnatak University, India ALFRED FERNBACH

Harry M. Johnson, *Sociology, A systematic Introduction*, Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., London, 1961, pp. xvii + 689, 42 s.

The author lays stress on the concepts of structure and function as valuable tools for the analysis of social systems. This book is different from other textbooks in sociology in that it offers the social anthropological style of observation of society. The chapter headings relate to the structural school of analysis. The interrelationship of the parts for the maintenance of the integral social structure is emphasized, and more space is offered to comparative kinship, and economic, political and religious institutions than is usual in sociology text books.

Although examples are drawn mostly from the American social institions, the author makes his observations from the comparative view point and presents cases also from tribal and other non-European societies. As references are often made to Indian social institutions, the Indian students will find many familiar situations, while becoming acquainted with aspects of other social systems.

The author leaves out many topics which are presented in orthodox text books, and in his introduction he says that he has purposely done so, in order to limit the scope of the book. The topics of population, demography, and human ecology are not mentioned at all. The subject of urbanization is mentioned in passing only in relation to other subjects, and characterizations of rural and urban societies are not attempted. The realm of social psychology is barely touched upon in the chapter on "Socialization" and the subject of collective behaviour totally omitted. The author may be justified in limiting his range by omitting these subjects, but it may keep the book from being widely used in institutions where all these topics besides those offered in this book are expected to be learned by sociology students.

Utkal University, India JYOTIRMOYEE SARMA

P. D. Devanandan and M. M. Thomas, (eds), *The Changing Pattern of Family in India*, The Christian Institute for the Study of Religion and Society, Bangalore, 1960, pp. xxii + 166. Rs. 5.

This study is the result of group thinking and writing. In 1959 ten sociologists, theologians, workers of the Christian Home Movement and Christian leaders met together for a week's discussion on changing family patterns in India from the Christian point of view.

The descriptive data of the study on the traditional joint family, the rural family and the statistics and facts on population and family planning are well condensed and adequately documented. The authors are to be congratulated in that they have grasped the implication of many current family changes. And because they emphasize the function of the new patterns and the necessity of accepting them rather than deploring them as do many Christian leaders. The study ends by briefly describing the attitude of the Church to the family and the home. Had Chapter 5 "New Goals" been made the concluding chapter of the book it would have had a more finished effect.

One of the advantages of group study and presentation is that it gives the reader a more rounded point of view than the work of a single specialist. But it has the disadvantage that the conclusions may have to be so watered down in order to bring agreement between different points of view that the result is almost useless. This study manages to avoid the latter misfortune, but it suffers from some over-simplification from the sociological point of view. Had it been a purely sociological study the writers would not have been quite so abrupt in some of their judgments, nor would they have occasionally implied that some of these fundamental changes could be stopped as though functioning in a vacuum. And they might have looked a little more carefully at the way adjustments were occurring in the more advanced industrial countries. The adjustment of the older generation to the new conditions, for example, is well on its way, economic and psychological support now coming from outside agencies; the modern 'individual' is not divorced from all responsibilities, but merely takes on a new set in the city, and, although city life is necessarily more impersonal on the surface, many kinds of new intimate groups arise in an urban society that give people much of the affectional support formerly supplied by the extended family.

This study can be highly recommended to all those who would like a quick, reliable picture of some of the major changes occurring, not only in India, but in most countries of the world.

McGill University, Canada AILEEN D. ROSS

M. M. Thomas, *Christian Participation in Nation-Building*, published by the National Christian Council of India and the Christian Institute for the Study of Religion and Society, Bangalore, 1960, pp. xvi + 325, Rs. 7/—.

The C.I.S.R.S. was formed only in 1957. One of its aims is "to work out the elements of a Christian understanding of certain crucial issues in the political, economic and social development of modern India." This book is nothing but a collection of reports written and discussed pertaining to the role of the Churches in India and their participation in building up of the Indian Nation. Christians themselves have made a thorough self-searching study as to how they should play their part in building up of the Indian Nation. It would be a good thing if other religious groups also examine dispassionately in what way they are playing a vital role in building up of the Indian Nation. Care should be taken to see that it would not hamper the development of National integration.

Its editors, Dr. P. D. Devanandan and Mr. M. M. Thomas have stated in the very preface itself as follows: "None of our consultants or the organisation or institution in which they work, should be held responsible for any views expressed in this Report. Nor does the Report represent the official view of the N.C.C. or the C.I.S.R.S. or any of its constituent members. It is a collective product and has no status other than that of a "Study Document." As such, it hardly requires any comment even though certain questionable opinions have been mentioned in this book. However, this book is divided into four parts: Part I deals with Responsible Political Life in India, Part II, with the Economic Development of India, Part III, with Social Change and Goals of Community Development, and Part IV with Cultural Foundations. Appendices are also included in the latter part. It is a good book for general reading within its limitations.

Karnatak University, India K. V. VISWANATHAIAH

1. **Faina Jyrkila,** *Society and Adjustment to Old Age*, Transactions of the Westermarck Society, Vol. VI, Munksgaard Ltd., Copenhagen, 1960, pp. 129.

2. **Nathan, W. Shock,** *Aging, Some Social and Biological Aspects*, Publication No. 65, American Association for the Advancement of Science, Washington, D.C., 1960, pp. 436, $ 8.50.

The first book is a report based on secondary analysis of data collected by the Social Science Research Centre of Cornell University, U.S.A., through a research project conducted in an American urban community during 1952. The book is divided into seven parts in which the author has presented certain problems of old age, covered some of the earlier studies, developed a theoretical frame of reference, defined various concepts, discussed validating tests, measuring scales of adjustment, attitudes of the old to the society and vice versa, relationships between certain variables, etc.

The increased number of elderly people in the Western industrial communities has presented a grave problem of adjustment to the rapidly changing society in its economic, political and domestic areas. Social scientists are engaged in locating and analysing problems of old people, administrators are busy in rehabilition of the aged. In England some useful surveys for finding out the way of life of the aged, the medical problems, their position in their families ('Old People', 'Social Medicine of old age', 'Family Life of old People'), and the measures taken for protecting the aged ('Social Policies for Old People) are made, and in America many private and public agencies are engaged in the study of old age problems and in suggesting and implementing rehabilitative measures for them. Certain descriptive monographic studies like L. W. Simmon's 'The Role of the Aged in primitive Societies' have added to the understanding of the different aspects of the problems of aging on comparative levels. Works like 'Personal Adjustment in old Age' by Cavan and others have attempted to give a deeper view of the area of adjustment of the young and the old, which, in fact, is the most important problem. Now, Faina Jyrkila, has added another work of importance.

The author has attempted to build a theoretical frame work to measure the degree of adjustment in an urban community, materialistic, competitive, achievement-oriented society, that exists between the old and the society. The frame of reference is tested, results are analysed and findings are presented. After having surveyed certain earlier works made in the area of gerontology in primitive, changing and modern societies, the author has attempted to define 'old age' from different angles wherein references are drawn from the biological, physiological, sociological and psychological sciences to illustrate the understanding of the concept. Further, the author has tried to develop the concepts of adjustment, adjustment to old age, hardship- and deprivation-variables, and attitudes as comprehensively as possible against the background of psycho-social theoretical developments so far made in the realm of 'attitudes' and the 'processes of adjustment'.

An interesting, and at the same time valuable, contribution lies in the author's development of a theoretical frame of reference, in terms of which the data have been interpreted. But it is not always convincingly shown that important generalizations logically conform to the data presented. And statements like the following found in the text of the report, rather give rise to confused understanding of the situation: "I assume that old people, in the lower socio-economic strata, with good health, could offer more resistance to the negative attitude "old" than could old people with good health in the same strata, or in poor or good health in the upper strata" (p. 76). No doubt the author has attempted a definition of 'old age', but has failed to explain why a particular level of age (e.g. 60 & 65) should be taken as the point of departure from middle age to old age, and why in the West gerontologists generally select for their studies a higher age for men than women, even though it is found that the latter live longer than the former in the West. Further, the presentation of the report, especially in the important part of interpretation is rather clumsy and the attempt to compress too many factors within a very limited number of pages has failed to give the reader a vivid and clear picture of the process of adjustment of old people to the society.

But these remarks do not mean denying the fact that this work has really added to the store of gerontological knowledge. In fact this work could be a useful guide to those who would like to measure the adjustmental problem of age-groups in varying cultural settings. The author is to be congratulated for having given a new line of approach to the study of the aged.

The second is, in its nature, an entirely different work from the first. The American Association for the Advancement of Science had organized a symposium on several, especially social and biological aspects of old age at its Chicago meeting in 1959, and this Volume consists of papers presented there. The book is divided into five parts: I. Implications for Society, II. Aging in Tissues and cells, III. Aging in the Total Organism, IV. Theories of Aging, and V. Oral Aspects of Aging. The papers are contributed by eminent and experienced experts in social medicine, psychology, anatomy, biology, biochemistry, physics, etc. and so the value of the volume is increased for the student of the problem of aging.

How do people get older? What are the biochemical and psychological changes occurring in the process of aging? Is there any functional relationship between biophysical processes, behavioural patterns, economic and certain other social systems of human life? These are some of the fundamental queries that have been sought here to be answered. Further, theories of aging, so far advanced, are surveyed so as to give an all-round picture of the biophysical and psychological aspects of the human organism. It is to be specially noted that scientists have tried to measure the effects of modern experiments in physical sciences on aging and the possibilities of overcoming the harmful repercussions. (e.g. "Radiation and Aging").

This book of learned papers is of great use to the students of geriatrics, and the students of human society could refer profit from it for their guidance in understanding the 'natural aspect' of man.

The AAAS is to be congratulated for having produced such a valuable, beautifully produced book. A cheaper edition of this work would be highly appreciated.

Karnatak University, India H. M. M. SIDDAIAH

Nigel Walker, *Morale in the Civil Service. A Study of the Desk-Worker*, University Press, Edinburgh.

"Morale" like most of psychological concepts eludes definition and defies scientific analysis, especially when applied to the "desk worker" instead of, as commonly done, to the combatants in the battle field. The Second World War has served to focuss the attention of psychologists to this element among the armed forces, as it was realized that war could not be won without morale, and the post-war era has witnessed an extension of this investigation to the factory workers. But as Mr. Nigel Walker says, these investigations unfortunately have not paid much attention to the "shadowy figure behind the desk" who, unsung and unhonoured, performs his routine task with thankless and monotonous regularity as if he were an automaton without his own emotional stresses and strains, his dislike of his superior or his attitude towards the ultimate purpose of his work, not the least of them. The various reports by individual investigators as well as Commissions have failed to appreciate adequately this personal factor. It is in filling this gap that Mr. Walker's book serves as a first step taken in the right direction.

As one who had worked as a Secretary in the Civil Service before switching over to the less strenuous professorial chair, Mr. Nigel Walker is eminently suited to examine the problem from the practical and academic points of view and, after going through this fascinating book, one will have no cause to complain that adequate justice has not been done to the subject. He displays a sympathetic and realistic understanding of the problems that the employees encounter in their day-to-day duties in the offices where the conditions of work may lead any superficial observer to rush to the conclusion that the desk workers are a happy lot.

A non-British reader is bound to feel that the book has not such a universal application as the title would seem to suggest, though the first sentence of the Introduction begins with "The idea of studying the Morale of the British Civil Service etc. etc.". It is a case study of the New Castle Central Office and a couple of Ministries and Companies in London. The problem with slight variations is universal in application. The statistical tables (the book abounds in them) serve to lay the problem bare while leaving the reader in vague position as the author finds himself in. The conclusion that uncertified sick-leave is a contra-indication of job satisfaction is unreliable, though the statistical tables may point towards that direction. It is normal human tendency as to avail oneself of all possible leave without sacrificing one's work. However one may love one's job, one is unlikely to deny oneself a holiday to which one is entitled under normal circumstances. If one does so it may be because of the subject's dissatisfaction in other walks of life that compel him to seek the company of files.

Efficiency, job satisfaction, pride in working group and cohesiveness etc. are admittedly the factors that compose morale. But the problem of how to increase them on the one hand and how to reduce monotony, pressure and domestic difficulties on the other, remain to be convincingly dealt with. Dismissal as a measure to increase the morale is something where angels would fear to tread. Caution has to be exercised when this remedy is to be prescribed as it might aggravate the malady instead of yielding the desired effect as Mr. Walker wishfully hopes.

The chapters on questionnaire are the most interesting as they give an insight into the psychological factors that work in the minds of the subjects. The questionnaires have been prepared with great care and efficiency. But how many would answer all the questions thoughtfully, truthfully and fearlessly and what measure of reliance could be placed on the answers?

Though "this book is a description of the problems and not a prescription for a remedy", in the concluding chapter Mr. Walker does discuss the remedial measures. Understanding the problem in itself is the first step towards solving it. This book is an excellent work in this direction in that it "clothes in words and figures what has long been at the back of many civil servants' minds".

K. SESHADRI

Norman W. Desrosier, *Attack on Starvation*, Avi Publishing Company Inc.

Dr. Desrosier's book is a popular exposition of one of the most pressing problems of today, – the provision of food for nearly 60 % of the world population who are on the verge of starvation in the continents of Asia and Africa. Though many books are written exclusively on dietetics or agricultural economy and population or food processing and preserving, a book which attempts to present a comprehensive method for fighting starvation from all these angles would be worthy and laudable. It is disheartening and perhaps dismal to witness today that large groups of human beings exist on a starvation level even after so many years of the grandiloquent proclamation of the Atlantic Charter's Four Freedoms. Starvation and malnutrition are coupled with high fecundity in these countries and urgent positive measures to be undertaken have to put an end to starvation by stepping up food production and supplying of alternate foods fortified with proteins. As the author says "the job is formidable. We need more than three and half a trillion pounds of food a year just to feed the present human population. Something near half this amount is available with present practices."

For the proper physical, cultural and psychological wellbeing of man not only calorifically but also nutritionally good food is an absolute necessity. Conservatism in food habits has to be broken and alternate foods instead of inadequate supply of the conventional foods have to be consumed by the people. It is in the discussion of the alternate foods as well as in the methods of preservation of foods that Dr. Desrosier makes a solid contribution.

Many countries, especially in the Far East, are not in a position to supply adequate animal food for various reasons and starchy and staple foods constitute 73 % of the average diet. The practical difficulty in improving quick-producing live-stock and poultry lies in the fact that they too have to be fed on cereals and pulses on which man has to depend for some time to come for his proteins and, for this reason cannot afford to feed the animals on them.

The chapters dealing with the basic factors affecting human diet, viz., land structure, water from rain, river and sea present convincing reading though a mature reader would expect a more detailed discussion. These chapters, though very important in themselves, are not quite exhaustive and unless other influences are also studied and a more dynamic approach is made to tackle this problem, the result will be inadequate. Mechanised agricultural methods as adopted in advanced countries like the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union have yielded food surpluses in these areas and one need not accept the Malthusian and the Neo-Malthusian despair of increasing the agricultural output of the already ploughed land, not to speak of bringing large tracks of arable land under the plough. A feeling of disheartenment is inevitable among the Afro-Asian countries which have to stand with a begging bowl while methods for controlling food surpluses are being contemplated in U.S.A. "Each continent in general must be nearly self-sufficient in food production". But this is a condition to be devoutly desired and until this position is reached, a moral duty is cast upon the countries enjoying food surpluses to come to the aid of the weather.

Economic and political factors play a great role in this crusade against starvation. An examination of the real incomes of people in these regions would betray the impossibility of improving the food production unless great changes are effected in land tenure. Proper distribution of land in so far as is conducive to better production, abolition of absentee landlordism which is the bane of agricultural production in these countries, consolidation of un-economic and fragmented land holdings, introduction of cooperative-schemes are some of the steps that have to be given serious consideration if hunger and the resultant unrest have to be staved off.

Growing more profitable commercial crops in lands where food crops could be grown, though advantageous in so far as they earn foreign exchange, has to be restricted by governmental action in the interests of feeding the people. Except in Japan, in other countries in the Far East, the emphasis is more on basic starchy food production. Proper education for mothers, eradication of superstitious beliefs, and old cooking habits resulting in the loss of whatever nutrition is available in their food are some of the basic issues which can be attacked by bold community development schemes. It would have been a more comprehensive treatment of this formidable subject if the author had dealt with these aspects to justify the ambitious title "Attack on Starvation".

It is in discussing the methods of storing and preserving food, and the closed system of feeding animals that he throws useful light though one would look for a more detailed account of the potentialities of atomic energy in the service of man which has been disposed of in a few lines. This is a field in which Dr. Desrosier had the privilege of being a member of the U.S. Atoms for Peace Mission to Europe.

Needless repetitions in many places could have been avoided. In some places the book reads like a compilation of short notes prepared for further elaboration. Many pages which are devoted to certain elementary things could have been better utilised if a more detailed and critical examination was made of subjects like "World Starvation and its control" and "World population and its control". They receive a rather superficial treatment, worthy of an elementary book on Marshallean economics.

K. S.

Omar Z. Ghobashy, *The Caughnawaga Indians and the St. Lawrence Seaway*, The Devin-Adair Company, New York.

In a short space of about 130 pages, Dr. Ghobashy has put forth the case of the Caughnawaga Indians, one of the six Nations of Indians who originally inhabited North America, and appeals to the sense of justice, equity and good conscience of the Canadian Government for a reasonable compensation to those whose properties have been appropriated as a result of the passing of the St. Lawrence Seaway Act. It is indeed a pity that 'little is known of the history and civilization of the Indians of North America' which can be comparable to those of Greeks and Indians. Though we 'deplore apartheid, segregation, discrimination, or genocide', seldom any reference is made to the tragic fate of this valiant race. Dr. Ghobashy has not attempted to deal in detail with all these questions but has rightly confined himself to the examination of the legal implications and human values that arise out of the dispute between Caughnawaga Indians and the Canadian Government.

The book is replete with precedents, court decisions and relevant excerpts from the correspondence between the chief of the tribe and Canadian officials, in support of the case of this extraordinary but neglected race. A very brief and lucid survey of their early history as far as is necessary for the main theme of the book is made in which the terms of alliances and treaties made by several European settlers are mentioned in support of the claim of the Indians for sovereignty and independence. Until the end of the Civil War in which the Indians made common cause with the Confederacy, their complete independent status was recognized by the United States. The early Dutch settlers too made treaties with them and violations never took place from either side. The Dutch never acquired any Indian land save by legal purchase. Throughout the conflict between the English and the French, the Indians enjoyed an uninterrupted title to their lands guaranteed by both the French and British governments. This position is fully supported by the citations of relevant clauses from the various treaties like "The Capitulation of Quebec", the "Jay Treaty", and letters written by Canadian Authorities. It is against this background of consistent conduct displayed in the past of recognizing the Indian's right that the subsequent Canadian action in appropriating their lands is presented. Whenever the U.S. government took over land from the Indians, it was on a definite legal basis, and previous treaties were superseded by a subsequent treaty. The decision of the U.S. Supreme Court as in Tuscarosas case was acceptable to the Indians. Dr. Ghobashy rightly argues that the same position does not exist in the case of the Canadian action, because the Canadian government cannot claim more rights than the original transferor of power viz., Britain, possessed before the creation of the British North America Act of 1867.

The legal question that may arise when and if the Indians appeal to the U.N. would be whether it would not come under the "Domestic Jurisdiction" clause of the Charter and whether by their having resorted to legal proceedings in the Canadian Courts and the Queen Bench would not mean their implied acceptance of Canadian Authority and thus being barred by the application of *Res judicata*.

The issue of domestic jurisdiction as enshrined in the Art. 2 Par. 7, though is one of the basic provisions of the Charter, has unfortunately remained an open question without being judicially interpreted by the International Court of Justice so that all future doubts on this score might be set at rest. In cases where highly emotional and political issues were involved as in the Indian South-African dispute, it was deemed fit in the larger interests of the U.N.'s stability not to seek a judicial interpretation. Once the question is referred to judicial arbitration, legal and technical complications can be created resulting in the denial of substantial justice. The dispute is wrought with complications resulting from the lacuna inherent in the British North America Act itself which did not expressly specify the position of Canada vis-a-vis the Indians. Dr. Ghobashy seems to feel Britain also has to be held responsible as by her conduct in maintaining her right in Cayuga Indians claims in 1910 against U.S. long after the British North America Act, she is by implication still responsible to the Indians. This position of Dr. Ghobashy does not seem to be tenable in view of the fact that subsequently in 1952 Britain seemed to have relinquished her rights.

Whatever might be the legal technicalities, the fact is well emphasised that these Indians are helpless and unless justice is meted out to them all the professions of the Canadian Government would be meaningless. As Dr. Ghobashy says, questions of an allied nature like Tunisia, Morocco, Indonesia, Cyprus, Tibet and the Suez Canal were also placed before the World forum on the basis of protecting the Human Rights for which the world body primarily exists. The moment the question comes before the U.N., in spite of its insignificant nature, it will certainly find support among the communist countries, Afro-Asian countries and many of the Latin American countries. Even apart from that, the claim of the Indians needs sympathetic consideration for future good relations between this nation and the Canadians. A careful study of the concluding Chapter of Dr. Ghobashy is worthwhile for the Canadian authorities. This book not only serves to throw ample light on the constitutional questions but also creates a desire for further light on the history, culture and social life of these noble 'savages'.

K. S.

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1871-1872

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ARTHUR LEHNING

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L'Institut International d'Histoire Sociale d'Amsterdam a pris l'initiative d'une publication de l'œuvre intégrale de M. Bakounine. Les éditeurs ont renoncé à une édition chronologique, qui les eût obligés à différer la publication de la majeure partie des manuscrits encore inédits. Les *Archives Bakounine* paraissent sous la rédaction de A. Lehning et des professeurs A. Rüter et P. Scheibert, par unités monographiques. Chaque tome groupera écrits et documents autour d'un thème déterminé, en respectant dans la mesure du possible l'ordre chronologique. *L'édition diplomatique des œuvres de Bakounine, qui comprendra aussi la correspondance, doit comporter quinze volumes. Les Archives publieront également des contributions à la biographie de Bakounine.* Les deux premiers volumes: *Michel Bakounine et l'Italie* (1871-72) rassemblent tous les écrits ayant trait aux idées sociales et religieuses de Mazzini et à la naissance du socialisme en Italie. Ces écrits, mis aujourd'hui pour la prémière fois au jour après 90 ans, sont d'une importance fondamentale pour la connaissance des idées de Bakounine. Ils constituent encore une source de premier ordre pour l'histoire de la Première Internationale et le conflit qui opposa Marx et Bakounine. Les volumes comportent une introduction et des notes d'Arthur Lehning.

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